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ABSTRACT

THIS REPORT EVALUATES A QUESTIONNAIRE SUBMITTED TO 529 ECONOMICALLY DISADVANTAGED BLACK HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS IN KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI. THE QUESTIONNAIRE WAS DESIGNED TO ASSESS ATTITUDES IN THE FOLLOWING AREAS: VALUE PLACED ON EDUCATION AND ITS IMPORTANCE FOR ONE'S FUTURE; INTERRACIAL RELATIONSHIPS, THE BLACK POWER MOVEMENT, AND VICLENCE; INTEREST AND PARTICIPATION IN THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT; AND, CONDITIONS IN LOCAL NEIGHBORHOODS AND COMMUNITIES. ALTHOUGH THE MAJORITY DID NOT CONDONE VIOLENCE AS A MEANS OF SOCIAL PROTEST, THE SAMPLING INDICATED A WIDESPREAD DISSATISFACTION, DISTRUST, AND BITTERNESS AMONG THE HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS. THE OVERRIDING DEMAND WAS FOR A GREATER SHARE IN "OPPORTUNITIES AND REWARDS, RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES." (KG)

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The Attitudes of Negro High School Students in Kansas City, Missouri: A Preliminary Report

Norman Fiddmont and Daniel U. Levine

Background and purpose of the study

Recent trends involving desegregation in urban areas have prompted educators as well as many other citizens to look for ways to make desegregation as constructive an experience as possible. This was the purpose behind a workshop conducted by one of the authors in 1967-1968 for teachers of Southeast Junior and Senior High Schools and for a small number of citizens from the southeast area and teachers from other schools experiencing adjustments related to desegregation.

The other author of this report is a teacher at a predominantly Negro high school who enrolled in the workshop as a participant from the southeast community. As his workshop project, he chose to study the attitudes of ghetto youth toward social conditions and trends in American society in general and Kansas City, Missouri in particular.

Working together, the authors constructed a questionnaire which was designed to assess the attitudes of black high school students on such topics as the following:

1. value placed on education and its importance for one's future.
2. interracial relationships, the black power movement, and trends toward violence in our society.
3. interest and participation in the civil rights movement.
4. conditions in local neighborhoods and communities.

The questionnaires were administered to representative classes of students at Central, Lincoln, and Manual High Schools late in the spring of 1968. Usable responses were obtained from 529 respondents. The nature of their responses is described in this report. Special appreciation is herein extended to teachers and administrators who helped us collect data at the three high schools.

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We believe that in general it is desirable for adults to know as much as possible about the opinions of young people. More particularly, we hope that the data reported in this study can add to public understanding of the attitudes of black youngsters and that such understanding can in turn contribute to the search for constructive actions that might help our city and our nation preserve a full measure of democracy and freedom in our public life.

Characteristics of the sample

The final sample of 529 consisted of 211 male students and 318 female students attending Central, Lincoln, and Manual High Schools. Classified by grade level, these students were distributed as follows: 9th grade - 114; 10th grade - 167; 11th grade - 127; and 12th grade - 121. Classified by school, grade level, and sex, the sample consisted of students distributed in the following way:

	9th		10th		11th		12th	
School	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Central	12	28	9	30	39	31	18	35
Lincoln	23	17	26	78	15	16	22	25
Manual	10	24	9	15	11	15	17	4

Using Hollingshead's Two-Factor Index of Social Class, we also collected information on family background to estimate the social class of students in our sample. The Hollingshead Index enables one to classify respondents in one of five social class categories. Social class category 1 includes respondents from upper income families and category 5 includes respondents from very low-income families. Students in our sample fell into the following social class categories:

1, 2, or 3 - 72 students (13.61%)
4 - 213 students (40.26%)
5 - 244 students (46.12%)

Since respondents classified in categories 4 and 5 on the Hollingshead Index are considered to be members of lower status groups in the nation's population ("working class," "underclass," etc.), 86.38% of the students in our sample can be designated as belonging to relatively low-income families in Kansas City.

The distribution of students classified by school and social class was as follows:

	Central		Lincoln		Manual	
		%		%		%
S.C. 1-3	38	(18.81)	27	(12.16)	7	(6.67)
S.C. 4	80	(39.60)	70	(31.53)	28	(26.67)
S.C. 5	84	(41.58)	125	(56.31)	70	(66.67)

Although the students in our sample from Manual High School clearly were more disadvantaged in social class background than the sample from Lincoln High School and the sample from Lincoln in turn was more disadvantaged than the sample from Central High School, it is also clear that the large majority of students at all three schools have economically and socially disadvantaged backgrounds. In none of the three schools were as many as one-fifth of the students in our sample classified in social-class categories 1-3. Since samples as large as the ones obtained in the present study can provide a very accurate estimate of the composition of the student bodies in the schools from which they were drawn and since we have no reason to believe that we were not successful in attempting to obtain a representative sample in each school, all three schools can be considered as low-income schools enrolling predominantly Negro students from the inner city of Kansas City, Missouri. These statistics agree, of course, with a great deal of other data which indicate that a large percentage of the black population in Kansas City consists of low-income citizens living in or on the fringe of the inner core part of the city.

Scope of this report.

One important task in most studies of social attitudes is to determine how viewpoints differ between respondents classified according to sex, social class, age, race, and other important demographic and status characteristics which are known to affect the attitudes of individual respondents. In the present study we are concerned with the attitudes of students of a single race whose ages fall within the relatively narrow range to be found in grades nine through twelve. We have a not as yet had an opportunity to fully analyze our data in terms of the social class and age of the students included in this study, though we hope to do this in subsequent reports to be released during the coming year.

With regard to sex, visual inspection of the data clearly showed that boys and girls differed very little in social class or in their attitudes on topics included in this study. Had boys and girls in the sample differed significantly in social class, it would have been important to determine whether those few differences we did find in their attitudes might be better explained by differences in social class than by differences in sex, but the fact that boys and girls in our sample are so similar in social class status made it unnecessary to consider this possiblity.

On few questions did there appear to be substantial differences between the attitudes of students attending Central, Lincoln, and Manual High Schools, respectively. For this reason we have combined the three groups into one large sample of 529 students whose attitudes are described and analyzed as a single group in this paper. On a few questions, however, differences did exist between the attitudes of students at the three schools. Most of these differences are described in section eight or Part I of this report.

During the past two years a large amount of research has been carried out nationally to learn more about the attitudes of both white and black citizens on social issues such as those included in this study of Negro high school students in Kansas City, Missouri. It is not our primary purpose to provide a complete summary of this body of research or to determine and explain all the ways in which our data agree with or contradict other studies; to do so would require a full-length book rather than this brief report to interested individuals and organizations in the Kansas City Metropolitan Area. Where it is of particular interest or importance to do so, however, attention is called to relationships between our findings and other research, particularly in Section II which is devoted to an explicit review of several of these relationships.

It should be particularly noted that many of the items on our questionnaire were open-ended questions which students were requested to answer in their own words. The advantage of this procedure is that students' responses are not influenced or guided one way or another by response categories such as are used on items which request respondents to choose among a list of specific alternatives. Thus an open-ended question generally is more likely to yield unbiased information concerning the original feelings and understandings of respondents than is a multiple-choice question. Using open-ended questions is especially appropriate in studies such as the present one in which attitudes being investigated have strong emotional connotations which are temporarily magnified by the wording of multiple-choice responses, thereby leading to inaccuracies in assessing the underlying nature of these attitudes. The disadvantages of this procedure are that open-ended answers must be laboriously classified in order to identify commonalities in the

viewpoints of the population under study. Other problems arise in determining whether open-ended answers have been reliably classified and in encouraging respondents to formulate and write out their own answers rather than to merely circle an item on a checklist. The latter problem often is particularly acute among students who may have difficulty expressing themselves and may be disinclined to fill out a long questionnaire.

In the present study the answers students gave to open-ended items seemed relatively easy to classify. The researchers had little difficulty in constructing sets of categories and then placing a given answer in one of these categories, and in most cases there were relatively few answers which had to be classified as "other" responses which did not fall in the major categories. For this reason we did not deem it necessary to conduct time-consuming and expensive reliability checks which would have significantly postponed analysis of the data gathered in the study.

As expected, however, there were some items of both the open-ended and multiple-choice types which relatively large numbers of students chose not to answer, despite the fact that they were strongly encouraged to express their views on every item. On other questions, however, there were very few of these "blank" responses, thus indicating that students did take the questionnaire seriously and did try to answer questions on which they felt they had a definite opinion to express. For this reason we believe it is justified to conclude that the large number of blanks on certain questions represent students who either did not have strong feelings on these items or did not have any information to offer in response to them.

I. Results of the study

1. Attitudes concerning integration.

One important question of much national and local concern involves the degree to which support for separatist philosophies and goals may be growing among black Americans. For eight or ten years after the Supreme Court ruled de jure school segregation illegal in 1954, most Negroes supported civil rights leaders who sought to gain equal rights by reducing the racial barriers which placed many black Americans outside the mainstream of American society. By 1964 or 1965, however, it had become clear that though some meaningful gains were being registered with respect to employment and politics, our social structure was not making it possible to achieve much progress in desegregating housing, schools, churches, and other major social institutions. Given the slow and sometimes non-existent progress being made toward integration and the growing emphasis on unity and power within black communities, it became questionable whether most Negroes still believed that it was desirable to continue to accept the traditional ideal of an open society as the best way to achieve equality, justice, and harmony in the United States. The beliefs of today's high school students are obviously of great importance in determining whether separation is becoming or is likely to become a significant force among black citizens in the Kansas City area.

The items which dealt most directly with separatism were, "Do you think our country will be separated into two nations, one black and one white?" and "Do you feel this /separation/ would be desirable or undesirable?"

Slightly more than 70% of the students in our sample believed it was either "very unlikely" (50.47%) or "not probable" (19.66%) that the country would separate in this way. (See Table 1-a for fuller information concerning the distributions of responses on this and other items.) Only six per cent of the respondents, on the other hand, believed it was either "certain" or "almost certain" that such a separation would occur.

Only 13.61% of the students felt it was "very desirable" or "desirable" that a clear separation should take place between black and white citizens in the United States.[1] It should also be noted, however, that nearly one quarter of the students were not sure whether separation is desirable or undesirable. This constitutes a fairly large-sized group of respondents who have not yet made up their minds on the question at issue.

When asked to explain their reasons for answering as they did on the previous item, 191 students (36%) wrote in answers which centered on the belief that both white and black citizens need the good will and cooperation of persons of the other race. The only other specific reason which was given by ten percent or more of the sample was found among the answers of 61 students (11.57%) who stated that separation would be an unprofitable answer to the problems of race relations in the United States.

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[1] In a study conducted early in 1968 by Helen Gott of the Kansas City Star, an even smaller percentage (9%) of black students in Kansas City high schools reported that they definitely were not in favor of integration. Kansas City Star, June 14, 1968.

Turning to other questions involving or related to attitudes toward integration, we asked respondents to answer the question, "In general, do you trust most whites?" and to specify "about the percentage of whites you feel you can trust." On the first item, 36.29% of the sample answered yes, 58.22% answered no, and 5.48% did not respond. Responses to the second item confirmed that a great amount of mistrust toward whites exists among the students in our sample. The response most frequently made among these students was given by the 12.66% who said they trusted no whites. Combining this group with the students who said they trusted less than ten percent of the white population, slightly more than one-third of the students in our sample said they trusted less than ten percent of the white population. Nearly 15% more, in addition, apparently were unable to make up their minds on how to answer, thus indicating that a rather intense ambivalence exists among black high school students asked to decide whether they can trust most white people.

It is interesting to note that while respondents who felt they could not trust a single white person constituted slightly less than one-eighth of our sample, objectively they did comprise a fairly large group of 67 students. Since we have every reason to believe that our sample is representative of the entire student population at the three schools studied, we can estimate that about 550 of the approximately 4,500 who attended these three schools in the spring of 1968 felt that they could not trust any whites. If these results held for the entire Negro population of Kansas City, Missouri, it would mean that approximately 15,000 black citizens were so disillusioned (or misinformed) concerning racial relationships that they felt they could not trust any white fellow citizens. It seems obvious that these data and estimates indicate there is much potential for misunderstandings and ill will in the future.

When students were asked to respond to the item, "About how many white persons would you say you know well?", the results were revealing of the relatively little contact which exists between racial groups in the Kansas City area. Approximately half the students said they did not know as many as ten whites well, and 15% said that they knew no whites well.

On the other hand, it may be encouraging that when asked, "Do you like the average white you have met," less than one-third of the students in our sample marked the "hardly any," "a few," or "none" response categories. This response pattern indicates that the reason most of the students in our sample do not have many friendships with white adults or young people probably is not due to a deep-seated hatred of whites which seems to be spreading among some black citizens as a result of the inequalities in opportunities available to racial minorities in the United States.

The conclusion that most black youngsters in Kansas City have not yet rejected the goal of achieving an integrated society in favor of a philosophy of separation received additional support from the answers students in our sample gave to the following two questions: "How desirable do you think it is to achieve integrated housing?" and "If the situation arose, would you be willing to live in an integrated neighborhood?" On the former question, about one-third of the students expressed the opinion that it would be undesirable to live in an integrated neighborhood. This is a substantial minority within the sample, but not so high

as to make it seem impossible to achieve progress toward integrated housing if the majority of white and black citizens in the Kansas City area were to decide that it is dangerous to continue the present trend toward separate subsocieties within the city and the metropolitan area. This interpretation is further supported by the fact that only one-eighth of the students in our sample reported either that they probably or definitely would be unwilling to live in an integrated neighborhood if an occasion to do so should arise.

2. Attitudes toward prospects for the future and approaches for attaining equal rights.

A number of the items on our questionnaire asked students to state their individual expectations for the future and their views concerning future developments related to racial relationships in the Kansas City area or the United States.

The students in our sample tended to have mixed feelings about the future. For example, when asked to respond to the question, "In general, do you feel your opportunities for the future are good?", nearly two-thirds said they viewed their future prospects as being either good or very good, and less than seven percent viewed their prospects as being either poor or very poor. While one would hope that more than 109 students in a sample which included 248 high school juniors and seniors might answer with a "very good" response suggestive of optimistic exuberance for the future, it is encouraging to find that relatively few students reported feeling extremely discouraged about the opportunities available to them as individuals.

However, in response to the item, "Do you think the problems between Negroes and whites are likely to be solved in a satisfactory way?", only a little more than half of the students in the sample marked the "definitely" or "probably" response categories, while nearly 40% marked "probably not" or "very unlikely."

It is difficult to say whether the perceptions of those students who expressed some optimism on these questions will be proved right or wrong by future developments. On the one hand there is much evidence that opportunities for many black youth in the Kansas City area and elsewhere in the nation have improved substantially during the past fifteen or twenty years. On the other hand recent trends in our society have not been such as to suggest that "the problems between Negroes and whites are likely to be solved in a satisfactory" (i.e., peaceful and constructive) manner in the future. What is clear, however, is that black citizens who once were optimistic about the future and then have decided that there is very little evidence to justify such optimism tend to constitute an extremely bitter and alienated group in our population. Recognizing this, there may be some cause for worry concerning the views students in our sample expressed about school integration. When asked the question, "Do you believe that schools in the north will be integrated?", more than 60% marked the "very likely" and "likely" response categories. When asked, furthermore, "how long do you think" it will take to achieve integration in the schools, 146 students responded that they believed this goal would be achieved within the next five years. If a substantial number of black citizens continue to believe that segregated schools do not provide equal educational opportunities, and if as little progress is made toward desegregated education as has been made in the past, it is likely that many of the students in our sample are bound to feel a good deal of additional disillusionment during the next few years. Whether this would lead to increasing support

for philosophies of extreme separation and for demands for complete community control of schools and other institutions in black communities cannot be known in advance, but the possibility is strong enough to provide grounds for worry on the part of citizens who believe in the goals of an integrated society.

There is much current interest among both Negroes and whites in the growth and implications of the "Black Power" movement. While this term is now used with great frequency in the mass media as well as in conversations and public discussions, Harold Cruse, Bayard Rustin, and other prominent black leaders have pointed out that very few persons - white or black - appear to be very clear on what it means.[2] It is particularly important to know what black youngsters might have in mind when discussing or thinking about "Black Power," yet no systematic research on this topic has been conducted anywhere in the country. It was partly for this reason that we asked the students in our sample to respond to the item, "What does 'Black Power' mean to you?" The answers given were quite diverse, thus indicating that there is no commonly accepted definition of the term among black high school students in Kansas City, Missouri. Nineteen percent of the 529 students in our sample said that Black Power refers fundamentally to power which would enable one to exercise his full rights as a citizen. Seventeen percent answered that Black Power refers primarily to black control of institutions in predominantly-black communities, 15% said it means simply that Negroes should act in a unified manner, 13% said the term was a slogan, six percent were unsure what it meant, 14% were unable or unwilling to answer, and 15% gave a variety of answers which could not readily be classified.

In view of the tendency for many whites to perceive the Black Power movement as somehow a call to violence on the part of Black Americans, it is interesting to note that only a small handful of the students in our sample defined Black Power as in any way requiring or depending on violent action to achieve its goals. Instead, they tended to think of Black Power as a way to achieve more unity among Negroes, to obtain full citizenship rights as American citizens, and/or to exercise more influence and control over the events that shape their destiny.

This finding is in fairly close agreement with the responses students in our sample gave on the item, "How do you feel about people who argue that non-violence is the best way for black people to achieve their goals?" More than one-fourth said they agreed very much with such a statement, and more than two-thirds said they were either "very much," much," or "a little" in agreement with it. Only 16% of the students in our sample reported themselves in open disagreement with the statement. It also agrees with the answers students gave to the question, "What do you think is the best way for the Negro to achieve his goals?" In response to this open-ended item, the majority of the students who answered the question said that education constituted the best way for black citizens to attain their goals in the United States, and only 7.56% said they personally believed that demonstrations and protests were the best means to achieve these goals. It appears evident in other words, that the students in our sample tend to share attitudes which research conducted elsewhere indicates have become widespread among Negro adults throughout the country. More specifically, national opinion polls have pictured the average black American as believing it is desirable to pursue equal rights goals through peaceful means but also as feeling that non-violent methods have not resulted in bringing about meaningful changes whereas

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[2]Harold Cruse, The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual (New York: William Morrow, 1967).

violence in the big cities has caused the nation to pay some attention to the problems which exist there. (Many social scientists agree that white Americans have tended to reinforce propensities toward violent protest by ignoring non-violent requests for improvement put forth by traditional civil rights groups and becoming concerned with the grievances of racial or economic minorities only after well-publicized threats of violence have been made by several extremely militant black leaders.)

The conclusion that most of the students in our sample personally believe that violence is not the best way for Negroes to achieve their goals is less unambiguous than would otherwise be true had we not also found that 43.48% of these 529 students answered "yes" to the question, "Do you think you might ever find yourself participating in a riot?" More than one-third of these students, furthermore, said it was either "very likely" or "probable" that they might someday find themselves participating in a riot. (We asked respondents to specify the conditions which they thought might cause this to happen, but the only answers which recurred with any appreciable frequence were "to help my race" or as a result of "threats to oneself or one's family;" the remaining answers proved too diverse to classify.)

Inasmuch as our study was conducted within two months of the major civil disorders which occurred in Kansas City, Missouri in April of 1968, we were particularly interested in the answers students wrote in to the question, "Why do you think that some Negroes have engaged in violence?" Examination of the answers showed that it was possible to classify them under six major headings: These categories and the number and percent of responses within each category were as follows: As a means of gaining equal rights - 179 (33.84%); To gain revenge for bad treatment in the past - 70 (13.23%). Due to ignorance, stupidity, enjoyment in destruction, or other pointless motives - 67 (12.66%); To protest lack of adequate opportunit - 67 (12.66%); As a cover for looting and stealing - 10 (1.89%); other miscellaneous reasons - 35 (6.62%). One hundred students (18.90%) declined to answer the question.

It can be seen that the students in our sample, many of whom lived in neighborhoods where civil disorder had been most intense, generally did not agree with the perceptions expressed by some individuals and groups outside these communities who apparently believe that Negroes have participated in civil disorders without explicit, positive goals in mind: 46% of the students in our sample believed that violence had stemmed either from a motivation to gain equal rights or to protest against unequal opportunity. This finding should not necessarily be accepted uncritically as an adequate explanation of the complex underlying feelings and motivations which contribute to the generation of riots and civil rebellions within the context of the explosive social and psychological situation in the nation's big cities. As psychiatrists William H. Grier and Price M. Cobbs have pointed out in their recent study of the psychological problems faced by most black Americans,[3] Negroes have had to suppress intense feelings of aggressive bitterness toward the larger society in order to survive during 350 years of slavery and discrimination in the United States. When members of a group are systematically punished for displaying feelings of aggression against society, they often learn to hide these feelings even from themselves. In such a case violent motivations may be harbored just below the surface of men's minds and may

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[3]William H. Grier and Price M. Cobbs, Black Rage (New York: Basic Books, 1968).

break out explosively when social situations encourage the release of pent-up emotions, but most of the time individuals socialized in this way will refuse to admit the existence of such emotions to themselves much less to others. Regardless, however, of whether our respondents are right or wrong in assessing the causes of urban violence, it is clear that at least on a conscious level most of the students in our sample are personally against violence even though they view it as having been inspired by a motivation to redress grievances which should have been corrected in some more constructive manner. What the nature of these dissatisfactions might be is considered in the next section.

3. Attitudes concerning conditions, opportunities, and problems in Kansas City, Missouri.

Several items on our questionnaire were designed to determine the degree to which students in this study are satisfied or dissatisfied with various conditions in Kansas City and the actions they think should be taken to solve problems which may exist in the city.

On the most comprehensive of these questions, students were asked, "In your opinion, how adequate are the following services or facilities for Negroes in Kansas City: housing, employment, education, health, transportation, police, recreation, welfare." For each service, students were asked to circle one response from among the categories "very good," "good," "mediocre," "poor," and "very poor." Responses to this question are shown in Table 1-b.

Before discussing the responses to this and other questions, the reader should be cautioned to keep in mind that our sample consists entirely of high school students. For various reasons, the perceptions young people hold concerning community conditions and problems may not agree with the perceptions held by adults. In some cases, the perceptions of younger respondents may not represent a very good measure of the existence or severity of some problems, particularly when they are asked to provide relative assessments of problems which have differential salience for or impact on differing age groups. In other cases, young people may have little experience to provide a basis for assessing the conditions under which they live or for comparing them with conditions elsewhere. This problem tends to be particularly acute in the case of respondents who live in segregated communities and thus tend to have little or no real knowledge of conditions with respect to employment, health, educational, or other services in other communities. This caution does not mean, of course, that the perceptions of young people are unimportant, particularly concerning matters - such as those involved in the present study - on which their attitudes and actions may be directly involved in determining what happens in a given community or on which young people obviously will help shape social thinking and behavior as they grow older. If the views of young people were inconsequential or did not have implications for the future, there would have been little reason to conduct this study in the first place.

The data reported in Table 1-b show that the services or facilities which are of most concern to Negro high school students in Kansas City, Missouri are those which involve law enforcement, recreation, employment, social welfare, and housing. In each of these areas, more than 30% of the students in our sample regarded conditions in question either as "poor" or "very poor." The single category which is most often viewed as inadequate is "police;" here 57% of the

students rate this service as either "poor" or "very poor." Other services which ten percent or more of the students in our sample regarded as "very poor" were "recreation" (18.71%), "welfare" (17.18%), and "housing" (13.80%). By way of contrast, one-third or more of the students regarded services involving "education," "health," and "transportation" either as "good" or "very good." It should also be noted, however, that not a single service among the eight was viewed as either "good" or "very good" by as many as half the students in our sample. Thus our most important finding is that there is widespread and deep dissatisfaction with conditions and services in their communities among students attending Central, Lincoln, and Manual High Schools. Regardless of how many persons outside these communities believe that black citizens in the inner core parts of Kansas City should feel satisfied with gains which may have been made in the past few years, young people growing up in these communities are far from viewing these gains as having been satisfactory.

Considering the previous question in isolation, there is some uncertainty over whether students in our sample express so low an opinion of police services primarily because their relationships with police officers are unsatisfactory or because they view lack of police protection as a major problem in their communities. The answers to other items on our questionnaire throw some light on this issue. For example, we asked students to respond to the items, "Do you feel safe in your neighborhood?" and "Do you think the average resident of your neighborhood feels safe?" On the former question, 84% of the students said they feel safe either "almost all of the time" or "most of the time." As one might expect, girls tended to be slightly more likely than boys to report that they felt safe,[4] but girls and boys were in full agreement in their estimates of the degree of safety felt by the "average residents" of their neighborhoods (see Table 1-c). On the second question, 78% expressed the belief that the "average resident" of their neighborhoods feels safe either "almost all of the time" or "most of the time." These responses do not indicate that the major source of dissatisfaction with the police is a feeling of great or pervasive danger due to inadequate police protection in the inner city area.

To examine this issue still more directly, we also asked students the following two questions: "Do you have any particular attitudes about policeman?" and "If yes, please describe these attitudes." Two hundred and ninety-six respondents (55.95% of the sample) reported that they did have "particular attitudes" toward policemen. Of these 296 students, 192 (36.27% of the sample) responded to the second question by writing in answers which in one way or another reflected a feeling that police officers frequently intimidated or mistreated black citizens without adequate cause. The term used most commonly by students in this group was that the police are "bullies." Another 36 students said they viewed the police primarily as persons who could not or would not communicate with the public. Sixteen students - three percent of all the 529 students included in this study - volunteered the opinion that police officers generally are "good men."

Additional indirect support for the conclusion that student dissatisfaction with police services centered primarily on relationships with police officers rather than inadequacy in police protection can be seen in responses to the item, "Have

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4. None of the trends in Table 1-c were statistically significant at the .05 level of confidence.

storefront police stations[5] helped improve relations between Negroes and police officers?" While about one-fourth of the students felt that storefront police stations had been of at least some help in improving relations with the police, more than half the students in our sample responded that relations had been improved "little" or "not at all" through this program, and many others apparently did not have sufficient knowledge of or contact with the program to respond to the question. Since the question implicitly assumed that the respondent perceived police-community and/or police-student relations in the inner city area as being in need of improvement, the data on this item imply that our respondents are not completely satisfied with the status of these relations in their local neighborhoods and communities.

In view of the fact that so large a percentage of black high school students in Kansas City are bitter and angry concerning the behavior of police officers, it is natural to ask whether this feeling might mark a temporary deterioration in relations between young people and the police resulting from the civil disorder of April, 1968. There is no doubt, for one thing, that many black citizens were greatly embittered by the shooting of civilians at the Byron Hotel, the beatings administered by police to several clergymen who were trying to help maintain calm during the disorders near the City Hall, and other incidents which occurred in the disturbance areas. Young people were particularly incensed by the use of tear gas to break up a dance in the basement of Holy Name Church and the gassing of school officials who were present to help prevent violence among students waiting to enter Lincoln High School. The only way to determine with certainty whether or not our findings represent a temporary deterioration in police-student relations would be to collect a variety of data at several points in time spanning a period of several years. However, by asking students to respond to the item, "Have your opinions on the topics in this questionnaire changed very much in the last year or two?", we did attempt to collect some information bearing on this issue. In response, 18.9% of the students in our sample responded that their attitudes on topics in the questionnaire had changed, but a large majority (69.19%) reported that their opinions had not changed (11.91% did not respond to the question). When asked to describe how their opinions had changed, only 11 students in the former group gave answers which could be interpreted as indicative of an increase in negative or violent attitudes. Thus the admittedly fragmentary and incomplete evidence available at the present time suggests that widespread dissatisfaction concerning the police as well as other services and conditions in predominantly-black neighborhoods constitutes a persisting characteristic rather than a temporary or self-correcting aberration in the social attitudes of black high school students in Kansas City, Missouri.

It should also be emphasized at this point that the accuracy or inaccuracy of students' grievances may be far less important than the fact that these dissatisfactions exist and are quite widespread. That is, even supposing that some infallible or omniscient observer were able to determine whether our respondents are "right" or "wrong," "justified" or "unjustified" in their bitterness toward the police and their perceptions of inadequacy or discrimination in employment, housing, or other conditions, it is the existence rather than the accuracy or

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[5]"Storefront" offices are a major element in the Kansas City, Missouri Police Department's program for improving community and public relations in the inner city area.

or inaccuracy of these attitudes which is likely to have social consequences in the future. Thus even apart from the substantial body of available evidence which documents the large amount of substandard housing, unemployment, etc., in Kansas City and other urban centers, the dissatisfactions expressed by large groups of young people or adults should be a matter of concern for all citizens worried about the future of our complex, interdependent society.

For several reasons, we were particularly interested in student attitudes concerning jobs and employment. It is a well-known fact, for one thing, that unemployment among Negroes in the big cities runs twice or more as high as unemployment among whites. Studies of high school dropouts and recent high school graduates in predominantly-black neighborhoods, furthermore, have shown that as many as 50% of the young adult males in some of these areas have been unable to obtain a decent job, unwilling to take unskilled jobs which may be available, or unable to hold a job for more than a few weeks or months. In addition, it is also well-known that the example of unemployment among adults or young adults has a very depressing effect on the motivation of youngsters growing up in these communities. To gather more information on this important topic, we asked the students in our sample to respond to the items, "Do you see any problems in getting a job in Kansas City?" and "If yes, how serious do you view these problems?" Fifty-four percent of the 529 students responded by expressing the belief that there are problems with respect to obtaining employment in Kansas City, and nearly 40% of the students viewed these problems as either "very serious" or "serions." When asked to explain their answers, 109 students in this group said they believed that these problems were caused primarily by discrimination against Negroes in general or against Negro youth in particular. Thus approximately one in every five students in our sample stated the opinion that discrimination in jobs is a serious problem for black citizens in Kansas City. While some observers might have predicted that this opinion would have been more widespread than we found it to be in this study, there is little doubt that it is sufficiently common to warrant the attention of government leaders as well as employers and concerned citizens in Kansas City.

It should not be assumed that the students in our sample tended to blame all the troubles and problems in their communities on outside forces such as discrimination or inadequate government services. For example, when we asked students to respond to the question, "In addition to discrimination which may exist, what are the two biggest problems which hold Negroes back in Kansas City?" by checking two answers from among the following alternatives: poor health; lack of confidence in themselves; lack of jobs; laziness or other bad habits; lack of education or skills; lack of ambition; lack of ability; and lack of political influence, the alternative which was checked much more often (by 51% of the students) than any other was "lack of education or skills." Other alternatives which were checked by 15% or more of the students in our sample were "lack of jobs" (32.5%), "lack of confidence in one's self" (28%), and "laziness or other bad habits" (18%).

Given these perceptions, it is understandable that more than 40% of the students expressed the belief (see section 2 above) that the "best way for the Negro to achieve his goals" is through more education and that many students in the sample apparently felt that a good deal of attention should be given to developing a greater sense of pride among black Americans. For example, when we asked the open-ended question, "What do you think could be done to develop more personal pride in race within the Negro community," 101 students volunteered as first or

second choices the answer that community improvement committees should be organized to work toward this goal. Other suggestions which were given this much priority by 50 or more students were to "show more personal confidence in oneself as a Negro" (51 students) and to "~~concentrate on electing more Negroes to political office~~" (56 students).[6] provide more education in basic literacy

4. Participation in community affairs and organizations.

Two fundamental goals in opinion research are to identify the determinants of attitudes and the characteristics of individuals who hold specific attitudes. In the case of issues involving civil rights and related matters, there is reason to believe that an individual's attitudes are influenced by or associated with the degree of his involvement in and knowledge of the work of organizations and groups which are concerned with these issues. Very little is known, however, of the extent to which these associations exist among young adults and school-age students. Information of this sort is particularly important in the present study because it could help public officials, organizational leaders, and other interested persons reach conclusions on such important questions as whether and under what conditions participation in civil rights organizations may lead to a greater commitment to work for constructive change and the extent to which civil rights or other organizations have tried or have succeeded in involving younger citizens in their activities.

To collect information relevant to these objectives, we included several items designed to measure involvement in and awareness of the work of civil rights groups in the Kansas City area. While no attempt was made in the preliminary analysis reported here to determine whether students who are high on either type of measure hold attitudes which differ from those of students who score low, some readers may be interested in the way students in our sample responded to these particular items.

The first question we asked in this section of the questionnaire was simply, "Do you officially belong to a civil rights group?" In response, only 72 students (13.61%) in the sample said "yes." Of the remaining students, 438 said they did not belong to a civil rights group, and 19 students did not answer the question.

When we asked students to identify the groups whose meetings they had attended, only 26 wrote in the N.A.A.C.P., and only 89 students designated any group at all. It is difficult to interpret the meaning of this response. It is possible that some students who had attended meetings of organizations to which they belonged simply skipped the question. Other possible explanations are that some of the students who had said "yes" to the first item did not really belong to any organization and had not attended its meetings or that some students who belong to the N.A.A.C.P. or other organizations may hold formal memberships but have not attended meetings or otherwise have failed to participate in organizational activities.

Responding to another question which asked students to indicate how many meetings they had attended during the previous two years, only 53 students (14% of the sample) reported that they had attended two or more meetings during that period of time.

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[6]See section 7 for additional discussion of the responses to this item.

On the last question in this series we asked students to identify Negro leaders in Kansas City by name and affiliation. In response, eleven percent of the 529 students correctly named and identified five or six leaders, eleven percent named and identified three or four leaders, and 16% named and identified one or two leaders. Thus approximately 37% of the students in the sample were able to name and identify at least one Negro leader in Kansas City.

Reviewing the evidence obtained from these questionnaire items dealing with participation in and knowledge of civil rights or related types of organizations, it seems justified to conclude that as a group Negro high school students in Kansas City, Missouri have not been deeply involved in the work of civil rights groups or similar organizations. One might guess, in turn, that their opinions are being molded much more by their parents and friends, the mass media, schools and churches, and, possibly, relatively unstructured groups in their neighborhoods than by groups specifically organized to provide them with balanced viewpoints and/or a systematic philosophy on important issues involving civil rights, community development, political action, or other related matters.

5. Attitudes toward school problems.

Regardless of their disagreements on other issues, most Americans recognize that improvement in the educational achievement of boys and girls from minority group families in the big cities and from low-income families in the inner core parts of the cities is a prerequisite to solution of the growing urban crisis. This view tended to be shared, it will be recalled, by students from the three predominantly-black Kansas City high schools included in this study.[7]

Since education is so important a consideration in any effort to solve the problems of the cities and since students in the public schools would seem to be in a good position to help identify and correct problems which may exist there, we asked students participating in this study to respond to the item, "What would you say are the most important reasons why some of your fellow students do poorly in school?" and to check two of nine response alternatives in answering the question. The nine categories and the percentage of students checking each one were as follows:

lack of studying	42.91%
lack of support at home	24.90%
lack of ambition	17.58%
lack of preparation	15.50%
teachers don't understand	13.61%
lack of equipment in school	13.23%
lack of ability	13.04%
poor teaching	11.53%
unreasonable requirements	5.67%
no response	6.62%

[7]As pointed out in section two, 41.21% of the students in our sample wrote in "education" in responding to the open-ended question, "What do you think is the best way for the Negro to achieve his goals?"; no other response was given by as many as 8% of the students in the sample.

The responses to this item form a very clear pattern which shows that students were much more likely to locate the cause of poor academic performance in the qualities, characteristics, or backgrounds of their fellow students than in factors associated with the school and its staff. Reasons involving the characteristics or "shortcomings" of fellow students (lack of studying, lack of support at home, lack of ambition, lack of preparation, and lack of ability) were checked 603 times, while reasons attributing low achievement to the school or its staff (teachers don't understand, lack of equipment in school, unreasonable requirements, and poor teaching) were checked 233 times. The only reason which was checked by more than one-third of the students in the sample was "lack of studying."

Several comments may be in order in connection with our findings on this item.

First, the responses provided by the students in our example undoubtedly reflect a good deal of realism and perceptivity concerning the problems in the schools they attend. To anyone familiar with the problems of inner city schools in Kansas City and other big cities, it is clear that lack of studying on the part of inner city students is a major problem. Similarly, much evidence exists to show that many students from low-income families come to school poorly prepared for the experiences and assignments they encounter there. Federal aid has made it possible to provide more and better equipment in two of the three schools included in our study, and - as is true of schools everywhere - all three schools have some very fine teachers who are working long and hard trying to improve achievement among their pupils. Thus the responses of students in our sample echo the feelings and perceptions of many inner city teachers who report how difficult it is to motivate and teach students attending predominantly low-income schools.

Second, the perceptions we found to be characteristic of our sample of Kansas City students probably are somewhat different than presently would be characteristic of comparable groups of students in certain parts of New York, Chicago, Detroit, and some other very large cities. Although no systematic research has been conducted to examine the similarities or differences among students in various cities, several kinds of evidence such as informal reports from knowledgeable observers and newspaper reports dealing with developments in inner city schools suggest that young people in the larger cities have become much more ready to blame the school and its staff for their scholastic difficulties than was true four or five years ago. Among the probable reasons for this shift in opinion are the influence of the community control movement - which tends to emphasize changes needed in community institutions - and the fact that some inner city teachers have tended to exaggerate the learning problems of their pupils in order to excuse themselves for a failure to utilize curriculum materials and instructional approaches which might be more appropriate for economically disadvantaged students than are the methods and materials now in use. In any case, many students in inner city schools in Chicago and several other very large cities are now beginning to criticize their teachers for not giving enough homework and for other deficiencies perceived as the fault of the school system rather than blaming themselves or their fellow students for their low performance in the school. Inasmuch as trends which have started among students in cities such as Chicago or New York usually have spread within two-to-four years to smaller cities such as Kansas City or Milwaukee, it is likely that a study of the school-related attitudes of students attending predominantly-black high

schools in Kansas City several years from now would reveal important shifts from the attitudes toward their schools which were held by students in our sample last spring.

Third, it should also be remembered that the three schools included in our study are segregated both by social class and race.[8] During the past five or six years much research has been conducted which indicates that attendance at predominantly low-income schools has a depressing or dampening effect on the motivation and ambition of many students who attend these schools, particularly in the case of minority students in inner core neighborhoods of the nation's urban centers. Conversely, attendance at schools attended mostly by middle-income students apparently makes it possible to counteract some of the scholastic problems which exist among pupils in predominantly low-income schools or neighborhoods, thus leading to improvements in motivation and academic performance. (It is precisely for this reason, of course, that school officials in Syracuse, Berkeley, and a few other cities are carrying out vigorous and comprehensive plans to reduce or eliminate social class and racial segregation in the public schools.) It should not necessarily be assumed, however, that students attending predominantly low-income schools are consciously or explicitly aware of the ways in which conditions in a low-income environment have a negative effect on the motivation and behavior of young people and adults confined to such an environment. Segregated, low-income citizens, after all, are fully immersed in a particular environment which will seem normal to anyone who has grown up in it. They are busy living in and trying to survive in their environment rather than engaged in efforts to analyze it. With little basis for comparing their schools and neighborhoods with conditions elsewhere, young people in segregated environments may be particularly unable to assess underlying forces which play an important part in influencing their attitudes and behaviors. Thus it should come as no surprise to discover students at Central, Lincoln, and Manual High Schools blaming themselves and their fellow students for scholastic problems in the school, especially since in many respects it is the individual student and his family who must take responsibility for improving his performance in the school and classroom. Viewed from this perspective, it is imperative that students and teachers in these schools work closely together to identify any problems which may exist there, to decide what actions each should take to solve these problems, and to make a systematic and determined effort to implement appropriate solutions.

6. Attitudes toward self and society.

In addition to the wide variety of questions dealing with the rather specific issues and opinions already described, near the end of our questionnaire we included five items dealing with general orientations toward self and society. These items asked students to respond to the statements, "Good luck is more important than hard work for success," "People like me don't have much of a chance to be successful in life," "My experience has made me feel that life is not worth living," "I feel a sense of pride and accomplishment as a result of the kind of person I am," and "How good a student are you?"

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[8]The reader should recall that 86.39% of the students in our sample are from low-income families, and that our sample appears to be typical of the three schools studied in this research.

These items were included because the underlying attitudes which they tap are known to be associated with certain measures of behavior and performance that differentiate groups of students from one another and because they help to reveal possible causes of such differences. The answers given by a particular population to questions of this sort are difficult to interpret in any objective sense, but they often do have meaning when compared to answers given by other populations or when analyzed in relation to views expressed on other kinds of items within a questionnaire. We have not carried out a full analysis along these lines for this preliminary report, but we can report that the responses given by students in our sample tend to be generally similar to the responses given by black students residing in other metropolitan areas in the midwest and the north.

The best way to make this point is to compare our results with the findings in the study of educational opportunities conducted in 1965 and 1966 for the U. S. Office of Education and reported in the landmark volume on Equality of Educational Opportunity.[9] This latter study provides the most comprehensive body of information on student attitudes which has ever been collected in the United States. In order to make simple comparisons between the attitudes of students in our sample and students elsewhere, we specifically chose three of the items cited above from the questions on which information was available from the equal opportunity study.

The first of these items was the one on which respondents are asked to indicate whether they perceive of themselves as good students. In the survey of educational opportunities, it was found that 41% of Negro high school pupils in metropolitan areas of the north and 42% in metropolitan areas of the midwest said they were "above average" or "among the brightest in their grade." In metropolitan areas of the southwest, on the other hand, 51% of the Negro high school students sampled fell in these categories.[10] In our study, we found that 42.16% of the students in our sample said they were either "one of the best students in my class" or "above the middle of my class" (see Tale 1-a).

The second item drawn from the equal opportunity study stated, "People like me don't have much of a chance to be successful in life."[11] The authors of this study reported that eight percent of Negro high school students in metropolitan areas of the north and of the midwest agreed with the statement. In the present study, 7.93% of the students in our sample reported that they agreed with it. By way of contrast, twelve percent of Negro students in metropolitan areas of the southwest agreed with the statement.

On the third item, "Good luck is more important than hard work for success," we found a good deal of difference between the responses given by students in our sample as compared with the data on Negro students in the midwest and north reported in the equal opportunity study. Whereas 13.42% of the students in our sample agreed with the statement, the equal opportunity study reported that six percent of Negro secondary students in metropolitan areas of the midwest, seven

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[9] James S. Coleman, et. al., Equality of Educational Opportunity (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1966).

[10] Ibid. p. 200.

[11] Ibid.

percent in metropolitan areas of the north, and ten percent in metropolitan areas of the southwest were in agreement with it. One could speculate at great length concerning possible reasons why a relatively high percentage of black students in Kansas City high schools apparently believe that success is determined less by effort than by luck, but to provide a definitive explanation would require several lengthy and complex studies. Despite this unexplained discrepancy, however, the fact that the answers we obtained on two of these three questions were much more similar to answers obtained in a fairly recent study of Negro secondary students in metropolitan areas of the north and midwest than to Negro students in metropolitan areas of the southwest leads us to conclude that on the whole the social and educational environment in which black youngsters in Kansas City grow up probably is quite similar to the environments provided for black youngsters growing up in other big cities of the north and the midwest.

7. Attitudes concerning black identity.

The only item on our questionnaire which dealt directly with the topic of "black identity" or "black pride" was one on which students were asked to list their answers to the question, "What do you think could be done to develop more personal pride in race in the Negro community?" As first- or second-priority responses to this open-ended item, 51 students said they believed additional basic education should be provided for black people, 101 suggested the formation of community improvement committees, and 56 gave general answers which emphasized the building up of personal confidence among black citizens. Only 28 students suggested that steps should be taken to launch educational campaigns to do this or to communicate and teach about "black culture," and only nine others said they felt action should be taken to elect more black politicians as a means to help develop "pride in race" among black citizens in Kansas City. (See item 30, Table 1-a).

Although we know of no equivalent or comparable research on the attitudes of black students elsewhere, various reports coming out of large cities such as New York, Detroit, and Philadelphia suggest that the emphasis young people are placing on "black pride" is far greater in these other cities than in Kansas City. Writing in the November 10, 1968 edition of the Chicago Sun-Times, for example, Christopher Chandler and Sam Washington included the following points in an impressionistic survey of the recent developments in the black identity movement in that city:

> Blacks have formed caucuses within virtually every city-wide agency, including the police department, welfare agencies and the churches, in efforts to alter policies affecting the ghetto.
>
> Afro-American culture is being disseminated through an array of new newspapers and cultural agencies. Swahili classes are being held at the Afro Arts Theaters and after hours at Marshall High School.
>
> 'Black identity is sweeping the city,' says the Rev. Arthur Brazier, president of The Woodlawn Organization. 'There is a tremendous drive toward establishing black

leadership within the community.'[12]

After summarizing these and other aspects of the black identity movement which have developed over the past seven months, Chandler and Washington go on to conclude that

> There are some elements within the black community which are opposed to this trend which they see as a move toward black isolation, and there is a small segment that sees the quest for black cultural identity useless unless it is accompanied by a drive for socialistic revolution, on the model of Algeria.
>
> But the growing black cultural identity is pervasive, especially among the young and the adult leadership groups, and the general mood of the ghetto has been radically altered by the shift away from the 1966 civil rights movement's goal of racial integration and civic reform.[13]

Although there are signs that an interest in Afro-American studies, "black culture," African languages and related matters is beginning to be awakened and to take hold in Kansas City, the present relative invisibility of these developments as well as the very small amount of data we collected on this matter both indicate that organized and significant efforts along these lines are not present among black youth in Kansas City on anything resembling the scale which may be characteristic of Chicago and other larger cities. It is interesting to speculate whether this difference (if it exists) is due primarily to fundamental differences between the situations faced by black Americans in very large as compared with medium-sized cities or to a frequently-hypothesized lag of several years between trends in other big cities and their development in Kansas City. Data collected during the next two or three years should make it possible to identify any significant intensification of the black identity movement among youth in Kansas City and thus to answer important questions of this kind.

8. Differences in attitudes between schools.

As noted in the introduction to this report, visual inspection of the data collected in our study indicated that there were few noticeable differences in the attitudes of students attending the three schools included in our sample. On a few items, however, the responses of students from one school were clearly at variance with the responses of students attending one or both of the other two schools. Most of these differences are described in this section.

When we asked students at Central, Lincoln, and Manual High Schools to respond to the question, "Why do you think some Negroes have engaged in violence?", students at Lincoln were much more likely to say that desires for "revenge" and for "looting" rather than a desire to attain equal rights had been the major motivating forces responsible for violence than were students at the other two

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[12] Christopher Chandler and Sam Washington, "Black Chicago: Building its Own Identity," Chicago Sun-Times, November 10, 1968, Section Two p. 2.

[13] Ibid.

schools. The respective percentages of students at the three schools who responded with these answers are shown in Table 1-d.

When we asked students to respond to the question, "Do you think you might ever participate in a riot," a much higher percentage of students at Lincoln said "no" than was true at the other two schools.

It is interesting to speculate on the possible reasons for these differences and on the possible relationships between the response patterns on the two items. For example, one might hypothesize that a larger percentage of students at Lincoln than at Central or Manual was directly involved in incidents during the civil disorders last April and then argue that students who saw violence at first-hand tend to feel it was motivated less by a desire to gain equal rights than by other motives and/or are less likely to see themselves becoming involved in some future riot. Alternately, one might speculate that for one reason or another students at Lincoln are less likely to believe that violence has been generated primarily by a desire to gain equal rights than are students at Central or Manual, and hence that they are less likely to see themselves participating in violent protests in the future. Using correlation analysis or other statistical techniques, we hope to explore these possibilities in subsequent reports in this series.

When we asked students to respond to the question, "About what percentage of whites do you feel you can trust?", students at Manual High School were more likely to say either "none" or "less than ten percent" than were students at the other two schools. If one hypothesizes that students from low-income families tend to be less trusting of whites than students from middle-income families, the fact that a somewhat greater percentage of students at Manual than at the other two schools are from low-income families might account for part of this difference. This possibility will be explored in subsequent research.

When we asked students to respond to the question, "Do you think Kansas City has serious problems for getting jobs?", a higher percentage of the students at Manual than at the other two schools responded "yes." Among students who responded "yes," Manual students were much more likely to perceive these problems as "very serious" than were comparable subgroups at the other two schools. The fact that the percentage of males in our Manual sample was slightly higher than at Lincoln or Central and that girls in our sample were slightly more likely than boys to say that there "are serious problems in getting jobs" in Kansas City means that these data underestimate the differences between Manual and the other two schools. Again, it is possible that these differences can be partly explained by differences in the social-class composition of student bodies at the three schools.

When we asked students to respond to the question, "What do you think is the best way for the Negro to achieve his goals?", a much higher percentage of Manual students wrote in answers involving violent demonstrations and protests and a much lower percentage wrote in answers involving education than was true at the other two schools. As on the previous two questions discussed above, part of the difference in response patterns on this question may be associated with social class differences between the three schools.

While the differences in attitudes between students at Central, Lincoln, and Manual High Schools were not particularly numerous, such differences as we did

find present several intriguing questions which we hope to explore in subsequent analysis of our data.

9. A profile of the attitudes of the "typical" student.

Rather than reviewing the detailed findings reported on the preceding pages, we will summarize the major results of this study by providing a brief "profile" describing the general attitudes held by the typical student (as defined by preponderance of answers to our questionnaire) attending Central, Lincoln, and Manual High Schools during the spring of 1968.

The average student enrolled in these three high schools in the Kansas City, Missouri ghetto neither believes that the United States will be separated into sub-societies based on race nor supports the arguments of those who would like to see this happen. He is optimistic about the future in that he believes the opportunities open to him are either good or very good. His expectations on these matters apparently are not founded on faith in the good will of white Americans, since he does not feel he can trust most whites. On the other hand, he does not personally dislike the few white Americans whom he has had an opportunity to meet and get to know. He believes that housing, employment, educational, health, transportation, police, recreational, and social welfare services or resources in his community are not very good. He is particularly dissatisfied with conditions regarding housing, employment, recreation, and social welfare, and he is frequently resentful of police officers whom he tends to see as unnecessarily intimidating or "bullying" toward the public. He believes that non-violent actions stressing education, hard work, orderly protest, and improvement of communications between the races constitute the best means through which black people should try to achieve greater equality and prosperity, but he appears to be unconvinced that these non-violent means have done much good in the past and he is far from sure that he will not end up participating in a riot in the future. In general, then, he appears to be committed to goals involving the achievement of progress through cooperative means which probably would be endorsed by the great majority of his fellow Americans, but his perceptions of racial relationships and of the problems and conditions in the predominantly-Negro community in which he lives lead him to accept these ideals with a certain amount of skepticism and ambivalence. The discrepancy between the conditions he sees around him and his high hopes for the future is reflected in an underlying sense of unease and bitterness which leads some of his fellow students to accept the arguments of extreme militants who either reject the goals of an integrated society or believe that progress for black Americans can be achieved only through violent means. Sharing feelings of dissatisfaction and mistrust of whites which are widespread among his fellow students, he is not completely sure that these arguments are incorrect and he does not find it difficult to visualize himself swept up in violent confrontations which might originate either as protests within Negro communities or in attacks directed against the people who live there. At the present time it is impossible to predict whether separatist sentiments or propensities to reject non-violence as an ineffective political philosophy will remain at their current relatively insignificant level or will increase among students who will enter predominantly-black high schools in Kansas City during the next few years. One can hardly doubt, however, that the attitudes of black high school students will continue to reflect developments in the larger society, the degree to which economic, social, and political progress is made in predominantly-black communities, and the success or lack of success of efforts to halt or reverse current trends toward racial separation and misunderstanding in the metropolitan area.

II. Comparisons with other research.

Though a fairly large amount of research dealing with the social attitudes of black Americans has been conducted during the past five years, relatively little of this research has been concerned primarily with the views of young adults less than twenty or twenty-one years of age, and hardly any of it has dealt specifically with the attitudes of high school students. Since age is known to be associated with variations in attitudes on many important social issues, the relative lack of previous research on the attitudes of Negro students of high school age makes it somewhat difficult to compare the results of our study with the results of studies conducted nationally or in other communities. Despite these difficulties, however, comparisons with other studies can help to clarify the meaning and implications of the findings in the present study.

in making these comparisons, we will draw whenever possible on studies which have provided information on the social attitudes of young people and young adults in big cities of the north and west. But where no such information is available in the published literature on attitudes among urban Negroes, or in other cases where it seems instructive or worthwhile to compare our findings with studies concerning the attitudes of Negro adults, relationships between findings in this study and data from these latter studies also will be pointed out.

1. Attitudes toward separatism.

Recalling that 13.61% of the students in our sample had responded that it was either "desirable" or "very desirable" for "the country to be separated into two nations, one black and one white," we can compare this finding with the results of a survey carried out by the Institute for Social Research of the University of Michigan early in 1968. Conducted for the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, the survey assessed the "perceptions and attitudes of . . . a cross-section of the population of each race, ages 16 to 69 in 15 major American cities." When interviewees were asked to react to the statement that, "There should be a separate black nation here," ten percent of Negro respondents between the ages of 16 and 19 agreed with the statement.[14] As the following data from the ISR survey also show, there was a small but clear trend for older respondents to be less often in agreement with the statement than were younger respondents.

Table 2-a. Percentage of Negro Respondents in 15 Cities Who Agreed with the Statement, "There Should be a Separate Black Nation Here."

	Men						Women					
Age	16-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	16-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69
Percentage	11	10	5	5	4	10	9	3	2	6	4	3

Source: "Racial Attitudes in Fifteen American Cities," Supplemental Studies for the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, p. 18.

[14] Angus Campbell and Howard Schuman, "Racial Attitudes in Fifteen American Cities," in Supplemental Studies for the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968), p. 5.

Taking into account that our sample included many youngsters below the age of 16 and that the question used in the present study was worded differently than the question used in the ISR's national survey, the fact that our results differ by only a few percentage points from the data reported by the ISR for Negro respondents sixteen to nineteen years of age iindicates that students attending predominantly-black high schools in Kansas City probably hold attitudes toward separation very similar to the attitudes held by comparable groups of students in other cities.

A second recent national study to assess the degree to which separatist attitudes of a general nature are accepted by black Americans was sponsored by the editors of Fortune and reported in the January, 1968 issue of that magazine. Based on interviews with more than 300 Negroes in 13 cities, this study indicated that nine percent of the Negro population between 16 and 25 years of age agreed with the proposition that "integration of any kind . . . /is/ not desirable" and that only a minute proportion (2%) of Negroes 26 years of age or older endorsed the statement.[15]

When students in our sample were asked to respond to the question, "If the situation arose, would you be willing to live in an integrated neighborhood?", 12.47% answered that they "probably" or "definitely" would not be willing to do so. In response to a partially comparable question which asked, "Would you personally prefer to live in a neighborhood with all Negroes, mostly Negroes, mostly whites, or a neighborhood that is mixed half and half?", the ISR found that 13% of the Negro citizens in its sample said they preferred to live in neighborhoods which were "all Negro" or "mostly Negro." Although the latter report does not provide a breakdown showing variations in response by age, it seems safe to conclude that the percentage of Negro students in Kansas City who prefer to live in segregated neighborhoods cannot be greatly different from comparable percentages for Negro youngsters and adults in the ISR's sample of 15 other cities.

A possible clue as to why relatively few Negro youngsters and adults prefer to live in segregated neighborhoods can be found in a 1964 study in which the Survey Research Center of the University of California at Berkeley conducted 1,119 interviews with Negro adults "representative of Negroes living in metropolitan areas of the nation outside the South" as well as in four of the nation's largest cities.[16] When asked to designate the "type of neighborhood" they would prefer to live in assuming that all types of neighborhoods were "equally well kept up," 55% of the respondents in the metropolitan sample said they would prefer to live in "mostly Negro" neighborhoods.[17] At first glance this result appears to be glaringly discrepant with data reported in the preceding paragraph, particularly since other evidence indicates that support for separatism among black Americans has risen slightly rather than fallen precipitously between 1964 and 1968. It is likely, therefore, that the relatively widespread support for separatism shown on the item used in the University of California study is due to the addition of the phrase which asked respondents to assume that "all types of neighborhoods were equally well kept up." In practice, black Americans apparently assume that segregated Negro neighborhoods - and the neighborhood institutions within them - are unlikely to be "kept up" as well as is true of desegregated or predominantly-white

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[15] "What Negroes Think," Fortune, January 1968, p. .

[16] Gary T. Marx, Protest and Prejudice: A Study of Relief in the Black Community (New York: Harper and Row, 1967), p. xxvi.

[17] Ibid., p. 176.

neighborhoods. In making this latter assumption, their thinking reflects decades of segregation in which schools, churches, businesses, and other institutions in predominantly-black communities have had far less access to economic resources than have comparable institutions in other communities. Major decisions involving economic and political developments in predominantly-black communities generally have been and continue to be made by individuals and groups outside these communities, often to the detriment of the interests of the inhabitants of urban ghettoes and almost always with some detriment to efforts to build a sense of cooperation and a commitment to constructive social participation among many of the people who live in them. Equally important, one distinguishing characteristic of a racial ghetto is that the average citizen who strives to build and maintain a good community is forced to live in close proximity with a minority of neighbors whose behaviors counteract his efforts to "keep up" the neighborhood and before long often destroy his motivation to keep on trying. It is for reasons of this nature that the preponderance of "law-abiding" citizens in the big city ghettoes are equally as bitter and sometimes more bitter concerning society in the United States than are fellow citizens whose anti-social behaviors are frequently stereotyped as being typical of the average black American. At any rate, there is abundant reason to believe that Negroes have learned through hard experience that neighborhoods in which racial minorities have been segregated by legal restrictions and social custom generally are not good places in which to live, thus accounting for the fact that several well-known national polls[18] as well as recent research conducted for the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders have shown clearly that, "Most Negroes of all age groups . . . reject separatist thinking both in the political and in the personal sense.[19]

To summarize our conclusions in this section, the data collected in our study of 529 students attending three predominantly-black high schools in Kansas City suggest that there is relatively little support for separatism among Negro students in the schools. Those who do support separatism represent a group about as large (or small) as is found among Negro young people and adults in other large cities. Black Americans apparently reject separatism not because of any widespread feeling that there is something inherently beneficial or elevating in associating with whites, but rather because experience has taught them that segregation has been detrimental to their interests. Thus our conclusions closely parallel the results of a 1966 study Raymond W. Mack conducted for the U. S. Office of Education in which it was found that, "Nowhere in the country did we discover evidence to support the idea that most black Americans subscribe to separatism" and in which the following comment made by one respondent with respect to segregated schools was found to reflect the reasoning of black Americans in all ten communities included in the study: "If our students are going to qualify for jobs that are opening up to them, it is essential that they get the best education, and the best" education right now happens to be unavailable in predominantly-black communities.[20]

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[18] e.g., In another national survey conducted in 1967, the Harris poll found that eleven percent of his sample of black Americans favored separatism.

[19] Angus Campbell and Howard Schuman, op. cit., p. 19.

[20] Raymond W. Mack, "The Negro Opposition to Black Extremism," Saturday Review May 4, 1968, p. 53.

2. Attitudes toward whites.

Since attitudes involving separatism might be expected to be closely related to attitudes toward whites and since high school students in our sample hold views on separation similar to those held by the great majority of black Americans, it stands to reason that attitudes toward whites among the students in this study should resemble attitudes which have been found to be typical of black Americans elsewhere. Data from the ISR survey tend to support this conclusion.

The most relevant information available on this point in the ISR survey was obtained in response to the questions, "Do you think only a few white people in (your city) dislike Negroes, many dislike Negroes or almost all white people dislike Negroes?", and, "On the whole, do you think most white people in (your city) want to see Negroes get a better break, or do they want to keep Negroes down, or don't they care one way or the other?" In response to these questions, 57% of the black Americans interviewed (59% of those aged 16 to 19) in the 15-city study said they believed either that "many" whites or "almost all" whites disliked Negroes, and 61% (69% of those aged 16 to 19) believed either that "Most whites want to keep Negroes down" or "Most whites don't care." While none of our own items were precisely similar to these two questions, we did ask whether students in our sample trusted most whites. Fifty-seven percent reported they did not trust most white citizens.

The University of California study found that 72% of the Negro respondents in its metropolitan sample agreed with the statement, "Most whites want to keep Negroes down as much as they can." Although this might suggest a somewhat greater distrust of whites than was found among students in the present study, the California study also rated interviewees according to the hostility they showed toward whites and classified 34% as being "antiwhite" or "hostile" toward whites. This figure is comparable to our own finding that 32.22% of the students in our study reported liking "none," "hardly any," or "only a few" of the whites they had met.

In general, then, data obtained in our study tend to agree with data available from other studies which show that while only about a third of Negro young people and adults in urban ghettoes are fairly strongly antiwhite, the majority - in the words of the ISR survey - expect "little from whites other than hostility, opposition, or at best indifference."[21]

3. Attitudes concerning conditions in the ghetto.

Although many white residents of Kansas City believe that community conditions in predominantly-Negro neighborhoods in Kansas City are better than is true in such neighborhoods in most other cities, their views are not supported by comparisons between the perceptions of students attending Central, Lincoln, and Manual High Schools and the data available on the attitudes of black Americans elsewhere.

With regard to public schools, for example, 43% of the Negro men and 42% of the Negro women interviewed in the ISR survey were reported as being "generally satisfied" with public education in their cities, compared with 36.49% of the students

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[21] Angus Campbell and Howard Schuman, op. cit., p. 26.

in our sample who felt Kansas City schools either are "good" or "very good." Whereas 26% of the Negro men and 21% of the Negro women in the ISR study reported they were "generally satisfied" with "sports and recreation" facilities for teenagers in their cities, 22.88% of the students in our study felt that recreational facilities in Kansas City either are "good" or "very good." Where 47% of the Negro men and 45% of the Negro women in the ISR study reported they were either "very dissatisfied" or "somewhat dissatisfied" with police protection in their cities, 57.28% of the students in our study believe police services in their communities either are "poor" or "very poor."[22] While differences in the nature and wording of the questions included and the samples used make it difficult to draw exact parallels between our data and information obtained in the 15-city study, those comparisons do suggest that the general level of dissatisfaction with community conditions among black citizens in Kansas City is not too different than is found among Negroes in other cities.

On a more directly comparable question involving police behavior, furthermore, the findings of our study are in fairly close agreement with data obtained in the 15-city survey. When black Americans in the ISR study were asked whether police in their cities "rough up people unnecessarily," 49% of the interviewees in the 16-19 age group and 41% of the total sample answered that they believe this frequently happens in their own neighborhoods. In comparison, it will be recalled, 45% of the students in our sample wrote in answers expressing the opinion that police "intimidate" or "bully" the public when asked whether they had any particular attitudes toward policemen.

Comparable data also are provided in studies William McCord and John Howard conducted in Houston, Watts, and Oakland in 1967. Based on 572 interviews in Houston, 187 interviews in Oakland, and 426 interviews in Watts, it was found that the percentages of Negro respondents who viewed the police in these cities as "abusive" were 31%, 36%, and 56%, respectively.[23]

In the latter study, respondents in Watts and Oakland also were asked whether housing conditions in their communities were "excellent - good," "fair," or "poor." Forty percent of those interviewed in Watts felt that housing there was poor, while only 21% of the respondents in Oakland felt that housing conditions were poor. The proportion of students in the present study who felt that housing in Kansas City is either "poor" or "very poor" was 32.72%

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[22]Compare, also, the results of a recent poll which showed that 48% of St. Louis's Negroes believe the police are " . . . 'arrogant.' Fifty-two percent think they are 'cruel in the search and arrest of a suspect,' and 61% insist that policemen 'do not protect the interests of the lower and uneducated class of residents.'" Trevor Armbrister, "White Cop in the Black Ghetto," The Saturday Evening Post, November 16, 1968, p. 28.

[23]William McCord and John Howard, "Negro Opinions in Three Riot Cities," The American Behavioral Scientist, March-April 1968, p. 25.

Reviewing these data from several different studies conducted in other cities, we can see no reason to think that as a rule the views held by students in our sample concerning the general adequacy or inadequacy of conditions in their communities are very much different than are the views of black Americans in other cities or that the perceptions of Negro high school students on this question are greatly different than are the perceptions of Negro adults.[24]

4. Attitudes involving violence.

Research studies on Negro attitudes conducted during the past three or four years have given more attention to assessing opinions concerning violence than to any other single topic. Key findings from some of these studies are summarized in the following paragraphs:

a. the causes of urban disorders.

The ISR survey asked respondents in the 15-city study to respond to the question, "What do you think was the main cause of these disturbances? The answers given by Negro respondents are shown in Table 2-b.

Table 2-b. Responses of Negroes to the Question, "What do you think was the main cause of these disturbances?"

/In percent/

Most frequent types of responses*	Men	Women
Discrimination, unfair treatment	49	48
Unemployment	23	22
Inferior jobs	13	10
Bad housing	23	20
Poor education	10	9
Poverty	10	8
Police brutality	10	4
Black Power or other "radicals"	4	5
Looters and other undesirables	11	11
Communists	0	0

*Each mention to this question was coded separately, and since some people mentioned more than one cause, the percentages do not add to 100. Only reasons mentioned by at least ten percent of a group are presented here, except for the response "Communist" which is slightly under this limit.

Source: "Racial Attitudes in Fifteen American Cities," Supplemental Studies for the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, p. 48.

[24]McCord and Howard's concluded that, "regardless of geographical area, the young were not generally more dissatisfied with their life and they were not more militant than older people." Ibid., p. 26.

As is shown in Table 2-b, only 15% of the black citizens who answered the question attributed urban disturbances to causes not clearly connected with what they apparently perceived as legitimate grievances. (This does not mean that the majority endorsed violence as a legitimate means of protest, as is shown by evidence presented below.) These data are similar to data obtained in the present study in which we found that 14.55% of the students in our sample attributed violent disturbances in urban ghettoes to looting or to other motivations which were pointless or had no clear connection with definite grievances within these communities.

b. the effects of urban disorders.

Data from the ISR survey on the perceptions of black citizens concerning the effects of urban violence were obtained by asking the question, "On the whole, do you think the disturbances have helped or hurt the cause of Negro rights, or would you say they haven't made much difference?" Among black respondents 16 to 17 years of age, 36% said they believed the disturbances had "helped," 24% said disturbances had "hurt," nine percent said disturbances had "helped and hurt equally," 25% said disturbances "haven't made much difference," and six percent said they were unable to answer.[25]

The Fortune survey of more than 300 Negroes in thirteen cities asked respondents whether "violence and rioting that has already occurred" has been "essentially good" (in terms of achieving Negro objectives), "essentially bad," or "both good and bad." Among respondents between 16 and 25 years of age, 17% answered "essentially good," 54% answered "essentially bad," and 29% answered "both good and bad."[26]

The University of California study asked black respondents interviewed to reply to the following statements: "Some people say that no good can ever come from riots like those that happened in Harlem this past summer. Other people say that such riots do some good because they make whites pay attention to the problems of Negroes. Which comes closest to what you feel?", and "Violence will never help Negroes get equal rights." On the first statement, 52% said "No good can ever come of riots." Forty-one percent said "riots do some good," and seven percent said they were unable to answer.[27] (It should be kept in mind that data in this study were gathered four years ago and may no longer be representative of the opinions of black Americans on this topic.)

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[25] Angus Campbell and Howard Schuman, op. cit., p. 50.

[26] Fortune, op. cit., p. .

[27] Gary T. Marx, op. cit., p. 32.

McCord's and Howard's 1967 study of attitudes among Negroes in Houston and Watts included the question, "Do you think the riots in Watts and other cities have helped or hurt?" In Houston, 30% of the respondents felt riots had "helped," 37% felt riots had "hurt," ten percent felt riots had "both helped and hurt," three percent felt riots had had "no effect," and 20% said they were unable to answer. In Oakland, by way of contrast, 51% of the sample felt riots had "helped," 27% felt they had "hurt," two percent felt they had "both helped and hurt," twelve percent felt they had had no effect, and eight percent were unable to answer.[28]

Turning to a study carried out here in Kansas City shortly before the civil disturbance of April, 1968, Helen Gott of the Kansas City Star conducted a survey in which students attending the city's high schools were asked to say whether they believed "riots accomplish anything." Among Negro students, 48% replied "yes," 35% replied "no," 13% replied "both yes and no," and four percent had no opinion. When asked "whether riots do more good than harm in furthering civil rights," ten percent said "yes," 28% said "no," 54% had no opinion, and eight percent felt riots "neither helped nor harmed" efforts to attain civil rights.[29]

Reviewing the results of these studies, two of which included information on the attitudes of Negroes who were 25 years of age or less, it is apparent that opinions among black Americans concerning the effects of urban disturbances may vary a great deal from city to city and age group to age group. It is also obvious, furthermore, that reactions vary a good deal according to the wording of the questions used, whether respondents are asked to react in terms of "disturbances," "violence" or "riots," and whether they are asked to assess the impact of these events on civil rights goals or other goals such as economic progress or improved interracial communication.

The present study did not directly ask students to state their attitudes concerning the effects of civil disorders in Kansas City or other cities. The item in our questionnaire which probably bore most closely on this topic asked students to state how they felt "about people who argue that non-violence is the best way for black people to achieve their goals." We found that 38% of the students in our sample said they "agreed very much" or "agreed much" with the statement. Given the difficulty of comparing our data with the studies cited above, about all we can say of the students in our sample is that the majority apparently feel violence may have accomplished some good in at least some circumstances.

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[28] McCord and Howard, op. cit., p. 26.

[29] "Attitudes Toward Rights are Strengthened," Kansas City Star, June 14, 1968, p. 1.

c. personal orientations regarding participation in violent protests.

In responding to the question which asked students to say how they felt about people who argue that non-violence is the best way for black people to achieve their goals, 15.69% of the students in our sample said they either "disagreed" or "disagreed very much" with the statement. If this response is interpreted as meaning that approximately 15% of the students attending predominantly-black high schools in Kansas City believe that violence is necessary to attain equal rights or other goals, this estimate extracted from our data is in fairly close agreement with conclusions reached in the ISR study which reported the data shown in Table 2-c in response to the question, "As you see it, what's the best way for Negroes to try to gain their rights - use laws and persuasion, use nonviolent protests, or be ready to use violence?"

Table 2-c. Choices Made by Negro Respondents Asked to Pick the Best Way to Gain Rights (in percentages)

	Men	Women	Total
Laws and persuasion	39	39	39
Nonviolent protests	34	42	38
Be ready to use violence	20	10	15
Don't know	7	9	8

Source: "Racial Attitudes in Fifteen Cities," Supplementary Studies for the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, p. 52.

Another study which reported similar results was carried out in New York's Bedford-Stuyvesant area in 1964. Among 196 Negro respondents who were interviewed to determine their opinions concerning violence and nonviolence, it was found that only 17% believed "violent tactics such as riots and fighting were necessary to get equal rights."[30]

In the study conducted by Fortune, on the other hand, it was found that 40% of the respondents between 16 and 25 years of age said they felt violence was sometimes necessary when asked whether they thought "violence and rioting are necessary to achieve Negro objectives."[31] Undoubtedly, part of the reason why so many respondents in this study believed that violence is sometimes necessary to attain Negro goals is related to the fact that only 54% of the respondents interviewed felt that the effects of violence which had occurred prior to 1968 had been essentially bad."

[30] J. R. Feagin, "Social Sources of Support for Violence and Nonviolence in a Negro Ghetto," Social Problems, Spring 1968, pp. 433-434.

[31] Fortune, op. cit.

With regard to propensities to participate in riots or other violent civil disturbances, the ISR survey asked Negro respondents to answer the question, "If a disturbance like the one in Detroit or Newark last summer broke out here, do you think you would join in, or would you try to stop it, or would you stay away from it?" Thirteen percent of those between the ages of 16 and 19 who were interviewed in this 15-city study said they felt they "would probably join in a riot."[32] This percentage was much lower than the corresponding figure (43.48%) we obtained when we asked students in our sample to respond to the question, "Do you think you might ever find yourself participating in a riot?" We are not sure how to account for this large discrepancy. Part of the difference may be due to differences in the way the questions were worded and/or to the fact that we asked students in our sample to answer "yes" or "no" rather than to choose between several categories. Other possible reasons may have to do with the fact that the the students in our sample are younger than the 16 to 19 year-olds in the ISR study or with the fact that our questionnaire was administered only a few weeks after the civil disorder of April, 1968 had occurred in Kansas City. Considering the latter explanation, it is possible that many students in predominantly-black high schools in Kansas City felt so resentful concerning some of the actions of government authorities or sympathized so greatly with the behaviors or motivations of persons who were participating in the disturbance that it was easy for them to visualize themselves participating in a future riot. If so, their underlying feelings could be viewed as closely resembling those of Negro respondents interviewed in the 15-city study, a majority of whom (54%) said they would be "sympathetic" when asked, "Even if you didn't join in a riot would you feel in sympathy with Negroes who did choose to join, or would you feel unsympathetic toward them?"[33] Before concluding, therefore, that students in Kansas City are more inclined to foresee themselves engaged in civil disturbances than are young people in most other cities, it would be necessary to obtain follow-up data which would show whether the pertinent attitudes of students attending predominantly-black high schools in Kansas City have changed or are changing very much since the spring of 1968.

5. Perceptions of opportunity.

In section two of Part I we described data showing that students attending predominantly-black high schools in Kansas City believe good opportunities are now available to them as individuals. In response to the question, "In general, do you feel your opportunities for the future are good?", 20.60% of the students in our sample checked "very good," 45.18% checked "good," 20.78% checked "mediocre," 6.62% did not answer the question, and only 6.61% checked "poor" or "very poor."

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[32]Angus Campbell and Howard Schuman, op. cit., p. 57.

[33]The relatively high rate of sympathy thus shown for persons who would join in civil disturbances is not at all surprising in view of the facts that 1) so many residents of urban ghettoes are deeply dissatisfied with the conditions which exist there and 2) a fairly large percentage of urban Negroes believe that previous disturbances have had good as well as bad effects.

These results are in good agreement with a number of other studies which also show that black Americans tend to state that the opportunities now available to them are relatively favorable. A recent study in Chicago, for example, found that 50% of the Negro citizens interviewed said "good" in answering the question, "How do you feel about the opportunities that are now available to you?", while only 28% answered "bad" and 19% felt opportunities were neither "good" nor "bad."[34] Similar results have been reported in national polls conducted by Louis Harris and other professional opinion-researchers as well as in numerous special studies concerned with the aspirations of Negro youth.

Several important questions can be raised in connection with these data indicating that the attitudes of black high school students in Kansas City reflect a general propensity among black Americans in urban ghettoes to perceive the opportunities available to them in the future as being "good" or "favorable."

First, there is some question as to whether these perceptions are realistic and accurate. Second, whether realistic or unrealistic, on what basis do black Americans arrive at these perceptions or conclusions? Third, how can this general optimism for the future be squared with the facts that the large majority of black Americans are extremely dissatisfied with present conditions and that this dissatisfaction has expressed itself in serious civil disturbances in many American cities?

At the present time it is impossible to provide documented and conclusive answers to these questions, but given their importance, it is worthwhile to consider possible answers and explanations in order to better understand the nature of the crisis in the nation's big cities.

Regarding the first question, there is much reason to believe that many black students who express optimism concerning their opportunities for the future are unrealistic in this expectation. It is true that much progress has been made toward attaining equal rights in employment, housing, and other areas and in improving social and governmental services in many predominantly-black communities. Many businesses are making a special effort to train and/or hire Negro employees, and federal, state, and local anti-poverty programs have reached and helped a good many low-income Negroes. During the past decade, as a matter of fact, large numbers of urban Negroes have moved from the working class into the middle class.

Nevertheless, data from various studies in a number of fields make it clear that much remains to be done to improve opportunities for black Americans and members of other racial or ethnic minorities. Despite the fact that many employment and career opportunities previously unavailable to Negroes have been opened up, very few Negroes reach the "top rung" of positions in banking and other large businesses, in government, or in medicine, law, and other professions,[35] thus indicating that the full range of opportunities in American society is not yet

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[34] William Braden, "How Sweet It Is, How Sour," Chicago Sun-Times, September 23, 1968, p. 4.

[35] Harold Baron, "Black Powerlessness in Chicago," Trans-Action, November, 1968, pp. 27-33.

available to black Americans. More important, Negroes still find it difficult or impossible to gain entrance to many labor unions and hence into many skilled and semi-skilled occupations which traditionally have served as major avenues of mobility for the urban poor. In good measure due to the forces of racial segregation and social stratification which exist in most metropolitan areas, conditions in the most depressed sections of the inner city actually have become worse rather than better,[36] thus creating what some social scientists have begun to refer to as "crisis ghettoes" in parts of some big cities. One major institution which has been particularly hard hit by problems associated with urban poverty is the inner city school. For whatever reasons, few of these schools are succeeding in providing students with the skills to succeed in our competitive economy. At inner city schools such as Central, Lincoln, and Manual High Schools in Kansas City, large proportions of students are performing far below grade level in reading and other basic skills, and most do not finish high school much less go on to college. Lacking the education needed to get jobs and advance in a modern economy, it can be confidently predicted that many will join the already-appreciable ranks of ghetto residents who are unemployed or seriously underemployed.

Why, then, do the majority of inner city black students believe that the opportunities available to them for the future are good? In part, because opportunities have improved appreciably in the past two decades and can be expected to improve still more in the future. Opportunity, after all, is a relative matter, so that opportunities which in some respects are inadequate may be perceived as good in comparison with those which came before. It is hard to believe that this is the whole explanation, however, for it does nothing to help us understand why explosive riots have occurred in so many cities.

One seemingly plausible way to explain why serious disturbances have occurred in urban ghettoes in the face of the widespread optimism black youngsters and adults express concerning the future is to argue that riots have been caused and engaged in primarily by a minority of long-term unemployed residents - particularly the most depressed residents of the "crisis ghetto" - who perceive their future prospects as discouraging or hopeless. However, this explanation of urban violence - which has been aptly termed the "riff-raff" theory of riots - has been discredited by a number of studies which have shown that participants in the serious civil disturbances of the past few years have not been drawn particularly from the ranks of the allegedly "hard-core" inhabitants of big city ghettoes (see below).

Other observers have pointed out that individuals who perceive a good deal of hope for the future may be far more inclined to act to achieve goals they see as being within their reach or to protest conditions they dislike than are individuals who expect so little of the future or are so hemmed in by traditional restraints as to be rendered quiescent and passive in most social situations. Many social scientists argue that much of the unrest in the world today can be traced to just this phenomenon, thus considering violence in our cities to be part of a world-wide "revolution of rising expectations."

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[36] Recent Trends in Social and Economic Conditions of Negroes in the United States: July 1968 Current Population Reports, Series P-23, No. 26 (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office).

Undoubtedly there is much truth in this view, but it should not be accepted as a complete explanation of the incongruence between widespread optimism and extensive propensities toward violence and despair among the inhabitants of urban ghettoes. Part of this incongruence may be attributed to other pressures and social forces which appear to play a role in molding the attitudes of many black Americans. As one example of the underlying forces affecting the formation of attitudes, sociologists have pointed out that young Negroes in the urban north today face somewhat different problems than did previous generations of young Negroes in the rural south. Whereas the predominant emotion with which black youngsters growing up in the repressive society of the traditional south had to cope was fear, the pervasive feeling with which black youngsters in the big city must come to terms is the rage continually engendered by the inescapable knowledge that many of the stated ideals of our society were not meant to apply to black people and by the ever-present sense of exclusion from the larger society which is a product of living in a racial ghetto. But rage, like fear, is an emotion which in many ways is threatening to the individual afflicted with it. On the one hand individuals, and particularly young men, are taught that autonomous and competent human beings take action to counteract or overcome the source of their anger or fear. On the other hand, to assert oneself against the perceived sources of these emotions not only may be objectively dangerous but also may seem to involve violation of other basic values which an individual may hold. As we have seen in our data, for example, most Negroes have been taught to accept and share social prohibitions on the use of force or violence to achieve social goals.[37] To endorse violence as a means to redress deep-seated grievances, therefore, is to contradict one's self-image as a good person who behaves in accordance with accepted definitions of good citizenship in individual and social affairs.[38] Since one of the most basic of human needs is to maintain a self-image as an adequate and good person, individuals are trapped in a situation in which either passive acceptance of their environment or active efforts to change a distasteful but unyielding and despair-producing environment may cause them to feel uncertain about their worth as a person. To protect their self-image, many react by minimizing the existence of barriers to the attainment of their goals, thereby temporarily reducing the urge to take action of a socially-disapproved nature. From this perspective, it is not surprising that black Americans in general and black youth in particular tend to perceive the opportunities available to them as being favorable even though there may be much objective evidence to support an opposite conclusion.

An explanation which assumes that many black youngsters are overestimating the opportunities currently available to them and views this "overassertion of opportunity" as the Negro's "last remaining defense . . . /against/ soul-wrenching

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[37] Grier and Cobbs point out that Negroes traditionally have had to make a special effort to socialize their children against socially-disapproved protests or other manifestations of hostility toward the larger society in order to reduce the likelihood of their being overtly repressed or even killed by agents of social control in the society. William H. Grier and Price M. Cobbs, op. cit.

[38] Ibid.

ambivalence"[39] is plausible because it accounts for the fact that most black Americans reject violence as a means of protest but that participants in the big city disorders have not been drawn disproportionately from the poorest and least successful residents of the ghetto.[40] Since many black Americans are dissatisfied with existing conditions and bitter about restrictions which have limited their access to housing, employment, and other resources on an equal basis with white Americans, tendencies toward violence which individuals must struggle constantly to repress can appear with explosive fury when a particularly emotion-laden situation encourages the release of these feelings. From this point of view, widespread over-estimation of the opportunities available to them on the part of black youngsters may prove very undesirable in the long run. On the one hand, taking an optimistic view of opportunities which are available can be a positive force which motivates youngsters to make good use of these opportunities, but on the other hand over-estimation can result in great frustration if or when an individual discovers that his perceptions have been unrealistic. In the words of two researchers who have made an intensive study of the Detroit and Newark riots,

> . . . Negroes who riot do so because their conception of their lives and their potential has changed without commensurate improvement in their chances for a better life. . . .Negroes are still excluded from economic opportunity and occupational advancement, but they no longer have the psychological defenses or social supports that once encouraged passive adaptation to this situation.[41]

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[39] See comments by Ralph H. Turner in the book review section of The American Journal of Sociology, September 1968, pp. 197-199.

[40] For documentation, see Joseph A. Loftus, "Status is Doubted as Factor in Riot," The New York Times, July 30, 1967; Nathan S. Caplan and Jeffrey M. Paige, "A Study of Ghetto Rioters," Scientific American, August 1968, pp. 18-21; Harold Black and James D. Wiley, "Dissecting a Riot Neighborhood," Nation's Cities, September 1968, pp. 18-20; and Irving J. Rubin, "Analyzing Detroit's Riot: The Causes and Responses," The Reporter, February 22, 1968, pp. 34-35. One of the clearest descriptions of the feelings which have resulted in widespread participation in violence when "triggering incidents" have set off civil disorders in urban ghettoes can be seen in the statement of a black citizen interviewed by psychologist Robert Coles:

> I have it pretty good here so far as cash goes - I've got my high school diploma - but first, last and always I'm a nigger to the white man. I can't move. I can't move. I can't even get the respect that money gets for you in America. No wonder a lot of us listen to those wild black men. They say we should go get revenge and, let me tell you, they're hitting where it really hurts, because we're hungry for revenge, even if you're like me and you know better. You know what I mean? You know what I mean, man?

quoted in Robert Coles, "The Gunman Needs a Climate of Hate," The New York Times Magazine, April 21, 1968.

[41] Caplan and Paige, op. cit., p. 21.

Frustration, therefore, can generate deep feelings of fury and hatred which an individual may turn back on himself or vent directly on other members of his society. In either case, it tends to be discharged irrationally in a manner which may harm the individual and his society. It is certainly to be hoped, for this reason, that definite action will be taken to help black students make the best possible use of opportunities which they now tend to see as holding great promise for their future.

III. Concluding Observations

There probably have been few times in our history when it has been as important to be familiar with and understand the attitudes of young people as it is now. Most Americans have been greatly surprised by protests and violent confrontations between police and students which have taken place on a number of college campuses scattered throughout the country. Having had little awareness of the points of view which motivated these protests, it has been difficult for the public to understand why they occurred or to distinguish between legitimate and illegitimate grievances and demands for change. Lacking familiarity with the attitudes of students involved in these protests, the public naturally tends to believe that the simple and appropriate solution is to forcefully suppress dissenters wherever they may appear on the campus. There certainly are cases in which direct and forceful action must be taken to deal with potentially dangerous situations, but by itself suppression proves to be an inadequate solution because it is not addressed to the underlying causes of a problem and as often as not it creates rather than reduces sympathy and support for still more disorderly developments in the future.

Before the public has reached anything like an adequate understanding of the viewpoints and attitudes of college-age students, unrest and dissatisfaction has begun to spread to the high schools. Among low-income or minority group students in the big cities, there have been outbreaks such as the 1967 walkout of thousands of students in predominantly Mexican=American schools in East Los Angeles and the 1968 boycotts joined by more than 20,000 Afro-American students in Chicago. In many middle-class suburban communities, too, high school students have begun to follow the lead of their older brothers and sisters in demanding a larger voice in their education or in protesting against conditions they find distressing in their schools or in society.[42] Nearly everyone who is in close touch with the attitudes of high school students in the United States believes that these manifestations of serious unrest are likely to become much more frequent in the next few years.

The need to know and understand more about the attitudes of high school students is particularly acute with respect to youngsters attending predominantly-black schools in the big cities. The nation rightly has become deeply concerned with the civil disorders which have taken place in many cities since 1964, so much so, in fact, that civil disorder became the most important domestic issue in the recent presidential campaign. Clearly, it is the high school student of today who will play a large role in determining the developments which will occur in the big cities tomorrow and the day after. Particularly in Kansas City, Missouri, where high school students were more directly involved in the incidents which precipitated widespread disorder during the spring of 1968 than was true in almost any other city, there is reason to be concerned with the attitudes of students whose thinking will be a key factor in shaping events five and ten years in the future. Recognizing this, we felt it was important to learn more about the attitudes of students attending the city's predominantly-black high schools.

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[42] In November of 1968, for example, one-quarter of the students at one grade level in the suburban high school in Arlington, Illinois walked out of school after the principal refused to let them nominate a young man with a beard as homecoming king.

What, then, is the fundamental oreintation characteristic of students who are growing up and going to school in the Kansas City ghetto? The fairly large amount of data we collected in this study makes it clear that black high school students in Kansas City share attitudes which are widespread among black citizens in urban areas throughout the country and which go far to explain why civil disorders have begun to break out with such explosive fury in many cities. This general orientation has been aptly summarized by T. M. Tomlinson in the following analysis of cities which have experienced riots:

> . . Riots have occurred in cities with every type of administrative structure. They have occurred in model cities; indeed Detroit was a well known 'model city.' They have occurred in cities receiving relatively large sums of poverty money, and ones receiving relatively small amounts. They have occurred in cities with compact ghetto enclaves and in cities in which the ghetto was distributed over a large area. They have occurred in cities with relatively high Negro employment and wage rates (Detroit) and in cities with relatively low rates (Watts). They have occurred in cities with relatively large proportions of Negroes and cities with relatively low proportions.
>
> Clearly what produces riots is not related to the political or economic differences between cities. What produces riots is the shared agreement by most Negro Americans that their lot in life is unacceptable, coupled with the view by a significant minority that riots are a legitimate and productive mode of protest. What is unacceptable about Negro life does not vary much from city to city, and the differences in Negro life from city to city are irrelevant. The unifying feature is the consensus that Negroes have been misused by whites, and this perception exists in every city in America.[43]

In response to questions on attitudes regarding housing, employment, and other conditions in Kansas City and on viewpoints toward the police, toward whites, and toward the philosophy of non-violence, we found abundant evidence of deep dissatisfaction, distrust, and bitterness among the students in our sample. Given these findings, it is not surprising to learn that some high school students became involved in incidents which triggered the April, 1968 disorders after the murder of Reverend Martin Luther King or to imagine many of them becoming involved in similar disorders in the future. Indeed, by their own admission 43.48% of the students in our sample reported that they had no trouble conceiving of themselves being swept up in some future riot.

What has not heretofore been at all clear to many observers was whether an appreciable percentage of students in Kansas City's ghetto welcomed the violent events

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[43] T. M. Tomlinson, "The Development of a Riot Ideology Among Urban Negroes," The American Behavioral Scientist, March-April 1968, p. 29.

of 1968 as an opportunity to strike out against social patterns and institutions in which they might no longer have had any faith. It is true that information made available in the press and other media and the subsequent analysis provided by the Mayor's Commission on Civil Disorder showed that the Kansas City disorder was similar to disturbances in other big cities in that it reflected a deep-seated discontent with the slow progress being made to attain economic and social equality within the traditional framework of American society rather than a renunciation of non-violent methods to achieve this goal or a popular uprising of masses of people determined to bring about change through violent means. In this regard, the capsule description offered by the editors of City magazine in summarizing one of the findings of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders provides an accurate commentary on the picture in Kansas City as well as the nation as a whole: "Despite extremist rhetoric, there was no attempt to subvert the social order of the United States. Instead, what most of those who attacked white authority and property seemed to be demanding was fuller participation in the social order and the material benefits enjoyed by the vast majority of American citizens."[44] But no one really knew for sure whether black youth in Kansas City still tended to share the goals and objectives to which most of their elders have long been committed.

Based on information we obtained concerning attitudes toward integration, separatism, methods which should be used in attaining the goals of black Americans, and related matters, we have no choice but to conclude that at the present time the predominant goal of the large majority of Negro high school students in Kansas City is the same as the demand being made by Negro adults throughout the country: "fuller participation in the social order and the material benefits enjoyed by the vast majority of American citizens." In brief, our findings are fully in accord with the results of a recent study of the attitudes of black students - many of whom were quite "militant" - attending Howard University: "For the most part, the Negro youth in the newspaper headlines are not rioting because they want 'out' from the white world but because they want 'in.' They share the same values as their white peers, and covet the same rights and privileges, opportunities and rewards, necessities and luxuries."[45]

It is possible and perhaps even likely that young people in the Kansas City ghetto tend to be somewhat more inclined than their older friends and relatives to accept violence as a means of social protest, but our data indicate that inasmuch as the actual proportion of students who may have reached this stage of militancy is relatively low, such a trend cannot as yet be very strong.

Viewed from this perspective, our findings support the conclusions of scholars who have argued that in some ways the perceptions and goals of black Americans have remained fairly stable over a long period of time. Given the conditions which existed in a society which first permitted their enslavement for several centuries and then managed to ignore the fact that semi-slavery had been reimposed for another three-quarters of a century, black Americans have been bitter and discontented about the nation's failure to allow them equal rights or equal access to its rich opportunities. As has been pointed out by the researcher who conducted the

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[44] City, March 1968, p. 5.

[45] Sophia McDowell, "The Unreported Message," The Nation, August 5, 1968, p. 83.

study of attitudes among students at Howard University, it is not only in the past five years that this discontent sometimes has been expressed in the form of violent protest:

> The riots in today's headlines are not new. The explanation of the 1935 Harlem race riot by a New York Mayor's Commission - 'resentment against racial discrimination and poverty in the midst of plenty' - sounds as contemporary as the 1968 report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. . . .[46]

What may be somewhat "new" have been some indications that black Americans are becoming less deeply committed to the pursuit of traditional non-violent methods for redressing grievances as long as it seems that these methods fall short of providing them with full access to all the opportunities and resources available to other Americans. Non-violence is still the preferred approach among the vast majority of black Americans, young and old, but at the same time the events of the past few years suggest that tendencies toward the violent release of aggressive feelings are not only closer to the surface but also more intense than they have been before. Several years ago Charles Silberman provided a perceptive analysis of the situation of black Americans under the insightful title, "Beware the Day They Change Their Minds." In the years since, the increasingly vocal and strident viewpoints which are being expressed by extremely militant groups suggest that black Americans no longer are as incredibly patient concerning the workings of a racist society as they have been in the past. As violence has become more openly and systematically endorsed by an extremely militant minority, it probably has become more difficult for black youngsters to repress feelings of resentment and frustration and to reject the arguments of extreme militants who express views with which they are partially in sympathy. It is possible that more interaction with whites who treated black people as equals would do much to moderate the feelings of distrust which generate the overt and covert hostilities black Americans are showing toward the larger society and its institutions, but social stratification and racial segregation sharply limit the amount of meaningful contact which a large proportion of black youngsters are able to have with people of differing racial and social groups. It also seems probable that improvements in employment, housing, and other objective conditions might help to reduce the high levels of hostility and mistrust which our data indicate exist among black students in Kansas City, as in other U. S. cities. But given the presently minimal opportunities to build trust and common understandings through personal contacts between black and white citizens from all walks of live, it would be foolhardy to predict that young people growing up in the ghetto will continue to hold as tenaciously as most of them still are to the traditional American ideal of peaceful progress toward a fully open society.

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[46] Ibid.

A Note on Subsequent Reports

For the most part this preliminary report has provided a straightforward description of the attitudes held by students in the three predominantly-black high schools included in the study and a few comparisons between our data and the results obtained in other studies. If resources permit, we hope to carry out a more intensive analysis of our data and to conduct follow-up studies in order to provide information in subsequent reports which might be of interest to the general public as well as to personnel in government or private agencies which work with black youth. Among the questions which we hope to explore in subsequent reports are the following:

1. How much change will have occurred between the spring of 1968 and the spring of 1969 in the attitudes with which we have been concerned in this study?

2. Are students from middle-income families more or less militant in their attitudes than students from low-income families?

3. What are the differences in attitudes between students who have frequent contact with whites and/or tend to trust whites and students who have little contact with whites and/or do not trust whites.

4. Do students who have high hopes and aspirations for the future differ in their attitudes from students who have low hopes and aspirations?

5. Are students who perceive conditions in their neighborhoods as being relatively poor more likely to believe in separatism or violence than students who perceive relatively good conditions in their neighborhoods?

6. What are the differences in attitudes and background between students who reject integration and students who do not reject integration?

7. Do students in the upper secondary grades differ in their attitudes from students in the lower secondary grades?

8. What combinations of background characteristics are associated with extremely militant viewpoints on the issues chosen for study in this research?

Additional copies of this report or of subsequent reports in this series which may be released in the future can be obtained by writing to:

Center for the Study of Metropolitan Problems in Education
University of Missouri - Kansas City
Nelson House
5100 Rockhill Road
Kansas City, Missouri 64110
CRestview 6-2718

Table 1-a. Numbers and Percentages of Responses Among 529 Students from Central, Lincoln, and Manual High Schools, Spring 1968

Item (Open-ended questions are followed by asterisks)	Response Categories	No. of Responses	Percent of[a] Responses in Total Sample
1. Do you think our country will be separated into two nations, one black and one white?	Certain	11	2.08
	Almost certain	22	4.16
	Probably	113	21.36
	Probably not	104	19.66
	Very unlikely	267	50.47
	No response	12	2.27
2. Do you feel this would be desirable or undesirable?	Very desirable	40	7.56
	Desirable	32	6.05
	Unsure	126	23.82
	Undesirable	147	27.79
	Very undesirable	164	31.00
	No response	20	3.78
3. Please explain your reasons for your answer.*	Cooperation between the races is necessary.	191	36.11
	No profit in separation.	61	11.53
	Negro needs white help.	16	3.02
	Separation dangerous; could lead to violence.	6	1.13
	Other miscellaneous answers.	88	16.63
	Don't know.	23	4.35
	No response	144	27.22
4. In general, do you trust most whites?	Yes	192	36.29
	No	308	58.22
	No response	29	5.48
5. About what percentage of whites do you feel you trust?*	None	67	12.66
	1-10%	95	17.96
	11-20%	28	5.29
	21-30%	44	8.32
	31-40%	37	6.99
	41-50%	64	12.10
	51-60%	21	3.97
	61-70%	20	3.78
	71-80%	44	8.32
	81-100%	31	5.86
	No response	78	14.74

Table 1-a(Cont'd.)

Item (Open-ended questions are followed by asterisks)	Response Categories	No. of Responses	Percent of[a] Responses in Total Sample
6. About how many white persons would you say you know well?*	None	81	15.31
	1 - 10	178	33.65
	11 - 20	68	12.85
	21 - 30	36	6.80
	31 - 40	18	3.40
	41 - 50	22	4.16
	51 - 60	3	.57
	61 - 70	2	.38
	71 - 80	2	.38
	81 or more	19	3.59
	No response	100	18.90
7. Do you like the average white you have met?	Almost all	100	18.90
	Most	110	20.79
	Some	142	26.84
	A few	101	19.09
	Hardly any	42	7.94
	None	28	5.29
	No response	6	1.13
8. How desirable do you think it is to achieve integrated housing?	Very desirable	41	7.75
	Desirable	89	16.82
	Not particularly desirable	137	25.90
	Somewhat undesirable	118	22.31
	Very undesirable	63	11.91
	No response	81	15.31
9. If the situation arose, would you be willing to live in an integrated neighborhood?	Definitely	129	24.39
	Probably	130	24.57
	Maybe	162	30.62
	Probably not	38	7.18
	Definitely not	28	5.29
	No response	42	7.94
10. In general, do you feel your opportunities for the future are good?	Very good	109	20.60
	Good	239	45.18
	Mediocre	111	20.98
	Poor	25	4.72
	Very poor	10	1.89
	No response	35	6.62

Table 1-a.(Cont'd.)

Item (Open-ended questions are followed by asterisks)		Response Categories	No. of Responses	Percent of[a] Responses in Total Sample
11.	Do you think the problems between Negroes and whites are likely to be solved in a satisfactory way?	Definitely	42	7.94
		Probably	257	48.58
		Probably not	111	20.98
		Very unlikely	96	18.15
		No response	23	4.35
12.	Do you believe that schools in the north will be integrated?	Very likely	128	24.20
		Likely	196	37.05
		Unlikely	37	6.99
		Very unlikely	21	3.97
		Unsure	125	23.63
		No response	22	4.16
13.	If yes, how long do you think it will take?*	0-5 years	146	27.60
		6-10 years	38	7.18
		11-20 years	13	2.46
		21-60 years	10	1.89
		61-100 years	1	.19
		100 years or more	5	.95
		No response	316	59.73
14.	What does "Black Power" mean to you?*	Power to exercise full rights as citizens	101	19.09
		Unity among Negroes	80	15.12
		Black control	92	17.39
		A slogan	67	12.66
		Not sure	33	6.24
		Other	80	15.12
		No response	76	14.37
15.	How do you feel about people who argue that non-violence is the best way for black people to achieve their goals?	Agree very much	146	27.60
		Agree much	60	11.34
		Agree a little	161	30.43
		Disagree	48	9.07
		Disagree very much	35	6.62
		Not sure	60	11.34
		No response	19	3.59

Table 1-a(Cont'd.)

Item (Open-ended questions are followed by asterisks)	Response Categories	No. of Responses	Percent of Responses in Total sample
16. What do you think is the best way for the Negro to achieve his goals?*	Education	218	41.21
	Demonstrations and protests	40	7.56
	Non-violence	35	6.62
	Understanding through more interracial communications.	30	5.67
	Develop more personal pride among Negroes	23	4.35
	Other	81	15.31
	Not sure	12	2.27
	No response	90	17.01
17. Do you think you might ever find yourself participating in a riot?	Yes	230	43.48
	No	262	49.53
	No response	37	6.99
18. If yes, do you view this as:	Very likely	63	11.91
	Probable	131	24.76
	Unlikely	29	5.48
	Extremely unlikely	27	5.10
	No response	279	52.74
19. Under what conditions?*	If it will help my race	50	9.45
	Family being threatened	26	4.91
	Personal threat	26	4.91
	Because friends do	4	.76
	Other	109	20.60
	No response	314	59.36
20. Why do you think that some Negroes have engaged in violence?*	As a means of gaining equal rights	179	33.84
	To gain revenge for bad treatment in the past.	70	13.23
	Due to ignorance, stupidity, enjoyment of destruction, or other pointless motives.	67	12.66
	To protest lack of adequate opportunity	67	12.66
	As a cover for looting and stealing.	10	1.89
	Other miscellaneous reasons.	35	6.62
	No response.	100	18.90

Table 1-a.(Cont'd.)

Item (Open-ended questions are followed by asterisks)	Response Categories	No. of Responses	Percent of Responses in Total sample
21. Do you feel safe in your neighborhood?	Almost all of the time	208	39.32
	Most of the time	235	44.42
	Not usually	33	6.24
	Seldom	20	3.78
	Very seldom	26	4.91
	No response	7	1.32
22. Do you think the average resident of your neighborhood feels safe?	Almost all of the time	145	27.41
	Most of the time	267	50.47
	Not usually	52	9.83
	Seldom	28	5.29
	Very seldom	32	6.05
	No response	5	.94
23. Do you have any particular attitude about policemen?	Yes	296	55.95
	No	212	40.05
	No response	21	3.97
24. If yes, please describe these attitudes.*	Police intimidate or "bully" people.	192	36.29
	Police can't communicate with the public.	36	6.80
	Police are good men.	16	3.02
	Other	47	8.88
	No response	238	44.99
25. Have your opinions on the topics in this questionnaire changed very much in the last year or two?	Yes	100	18.90
	No	366	69.19
	No response	63	11.91
26. Do you see any problems in getting a job in Kansas City?	Yes	288	54.44
	No	208	39.32
	No response	33	6.24
27. If yes, do you view these problems as:	Very serious	110	20.79
	Serious	94	17.77
	Moderately serious	79	14.93
	Not serious	17	3.21
	No response	229	43.29
28. Explain your answer*	Problem involves discrimination on the basis of:		
	race	91	17.18
	race and age	18	3.40
	age	27	5.10
	Other miscellaneous problems cited.	94	17.77
	No response	299	56.52

Table 1-a. (Cont'd.)

Item (Open-ended questions are followed by asterisks)		Response Categories	No. of Responses	Percent of[a] Responses in Total sample
29.	In addition to discrimination which may exist, what are the two biggest problems which hold back Negroes in Kansas City? (check two)	Poor health	14	2.65
		Lack of confidence in one's self	153	28.92
		Lack of jobs	172	32.51
		Laziness or other bad habits	94	17.76
		Lack of education or skills	271	51.23
		Lack of ambition	59	11.15
		Lack of ability	50	9.45
		Lack of political influence	60	11.34
30.	What do you think could be done to develop more personal pride in race within the Negro community?* (list in order of importance)	Educational campaigns	28	5.29
		Community improvement committees	101	19.09
		Literacy education	51	9.64
		Show more personal confidence	56	10.58
		Elect more Negro political leaders	9	1.70
		Other	136	25.71
			31	
31.	Do you officially belong to a civil rights group?	Yes	72	13.61
		No	438	82.80
		No response	19	3.59
32.	If yes, to what group or groups do you belong?*	N.A.A.C.P.	44	8.32
		C.O.R.E.	7	1.32
		Urban League	1	.19
		Local organizations	4	.76
		Other	13	2.46
		No response	460	86.96
33.	Have you ever attended meetings of civil rights groups or similar organizations?	Yes	106	20.04
		No	375	70.89
		No response	48	9.07
34.	If yes, which ones?*	N.A.A.C.P.	26	4.91
		C.O.R.E.	12	2.27
		Urban League	1	.19
		Local organizations	6	1.13
		Poor People's March	13	2.46
		Other	31	5.86
		No response	440	83.18

Table 1-a. (Cont'd.)

Item (Open-ended questions are followed by asterisks)		Response Categories	Responses	Percent of Responses in Total Sample
35.	About how many meetings can you remember having attended in the last two years?*	0	63	11.91
		1	23	4.35
		2	16	3.02
		3	9	1.70
		4	7	1.32
		5	5	.94
		6	1	.19
		7	2	.38
		8	0	.00
		9 or more	13	2.46
		No response	390	73.72
36.	Can you name the Negro leaders in Kansas City?	Yes	153	28.92
		No	250	47.26
		No response	126	23.82
37.	If yes, give their names and affiliations*	(number correctly identified)		
		1	27	5.10
		2	57	10.77
		3	31	5.86
		4	26	4.91
		5	20	3.78
		6	39	7.37
		No response	329	62.19
38.	What would you say are the most important reasons why some of your fellow students do poorly in school? (check two)	Lack of studying	227	42.91
		Lack of support at home	132	24.90
		Lack of ambition	93	17.58
		Lack of preparation	82	15.50
		Teachers don't understand	72	13.61
		Lack of equipment in school	70	13.23
		Lack of ability	69	13.04
		Poor teaching	61	11.53
		Unreasonable requirements	30	5.67
39.	How good a student are you?	One of the best students in my class	76	14.37
		Above the middle of my class	147	27.79
		In the middle of my class	246	46.50
		Below the middle of my class	16	3.02
		Near the bottom of my class	8	1.51
		No response	36	6.80

Table 1a. (Cont'd.)

Item (Open-ended questions are followed by asterisks)		Response Categories	No. of Responses	Percent of[a] Responses in Total Sample
40.	People like me don't have much of a chance to be successful in life.	Agree very much	15	2.83
		Agree	27	5.10
		Not sure	83	15.70
		Disagree	247	46.69
		Disagree very much	121	22.87
		No response	36	6.80
41.	Good luck is more important than hard work for success.	Agree very much	21	3.97
		Agree	50	9.45
		Not sure	83	15.70
		Disagree	203	38.37
		Disagree very much	130	24.57
		No response	42	7.94
42.	My experience has made me feel that life is not worth living.	Never	165	31.19
		Rarely	86	16.26
		Once in a while	114	21.55
		Sometimes	85	16.07
		Often	21	3.97
		Very often	17	3.21
		No response	41	7.75
43.	I feel a sense of pride and accomplishment as a result of the kind of person I am.	Very often	172	32.51
		Often	147	27.79
		Sometimes	123	23.25
		Seldom	34	6.43
		Very seldom	13	2.46
		No response	40	7.56

[a]Rounding procedures used in calculating percentages sometimes result in distributions which do not total exactly 100%.

b Only the first and second responses were tabulated of students who cited more than one possibility.

Table 1b. Numbers and Percentages of Responses to the Question, "In Your Opinion, How Adequate are the Following Services or Facilities for Negroes in Kansas City? (N = 529)

Response Categories	Services or Facilities															
	Housing		Employment		Education		Health		Transportation		Police		Recreation		Welfare	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Very good	15	2.83	15	2.83	46	8.70	42	7.94	69	13.04	13	2.46	34	6.43	35	6.62
Good	69	13.04	84	15.88	147	27.79	163	30.81	185	34.97	60	11.34	89	16.45	93	17.58
Mediocre	182	34.40	199	37.62	155	29.30	183	34.59	158	29.87	105	19.85	122	23.06	144	27.22
Poor	153	28.92	141	26.65	99	18.71	68	12.85	50	9.45	138	26.09	148	27.98	112	21.17
Very Poor	73	13.80	50	9.45	47	8.88	26	4.91	28	5.29	165	31.19	99	18.71	91	17.18
No response	37	6.99	40	7.56	35	6.62	47	8.88	39	7.37	48	9.07	39	6.62	54	10.21

Table 1c. Selected Comparisons Between the Responses of Boys and the Responses of Girls Attending Central, Lincoln, and Manual High Schools

Item	Response Categories	Boys (N = 211)		Girls (N = 318)	
		N	%	N	%
1. Do you feel safe in your neighborhood?	Almost all of the time	97	45.97	111	34.9
	Most of the time	86	40.76	149	46.85
	Not usually	11	5.21	22	6.92
	Seldom	5	2.37	15	4.72
	Very seldom	8	3.79	18	5.66
	No response	4	1.90	3	.94
2. Do you think the average resident of your neighborhood feels safe?	Almost all of the time	57	27.01	88	27.67
	Most of the time	105	49.76	162	50.94
	Not usually	20	9.48	32	10.06
	Seldom	11	5.21	17	5.35
	Very seldom	16	7.58	16	5.03
	No response	2	.95	3	.94
3. Do you think there are serious problems in getting a job in Kansas City?	Yes	107	50.71	181	56.92
	No	92	43.60	116	36.48
	No response	12	5.69	21	6.60

Table 1-d. Selected Comparisons Between the Responses of Students Attending Central, Lincoln, and Manual High Schools

	Item	Response Categories	Responses in Percentages		
			Central (N = 202)	Lincoln (N = 222)	Manusl (N = 105)
1.	Why do you think some Negroes have engaged in violence?* $p < .005$	To gain equal rights	36.14	4.50	26.67
		Revenge	13.37	35.14	11.43
		Ignorance, stupidity, or other pointless motivations	13.86	13.95	10.48
		Lack of opportunity	11.39	12.61	15.24
		Cover up for looting	.99	12.61	2.86
		Other	4.95	2.25	15.24
		No response	19.31	18.92	18.09
2.	Do you think you might ever participate in a riot? $p < .005$	Yes	43.56	25.42	49.52
		No	48.51	66.10	44.76
		No response	7.92	8.48	5.71
3.	About what percent of whites do you $p < .05$		C & L		
		None or 1-10%	28.54		39.05
		More than 10% or no response	71.46		60.95
4.	Do you think Kansas City has serious problems for getting jobs? $p < .005$	Yes	57.43	46.40	65.71
		No	37.13	45.04	31.43
		No response	5.44	8.56	2.86
5.	If yes, do you view these problems as: $p < .005$	Very serious	17.33	4.50	33.33
		Serious	24.26	13.51	14.29
		Moderately serious	16.34	14.41	13.33
		Not serious	2.47	4.05	2.86
		No response	39.60	50.00	36.19

Table I-d. (Cont'd.)

Item	Response Categories	Responses in Percentages		
		Central (N =202)	Lincoln (N =222)	Manual (N =105)
6. What do you think is the best way for the Negro to achieve his goals?	Education	43.07	40.54	3.81
	Violent demonstrations and protest	7.43	7.66	39.05
	Develop personal pride	3.96	4.95	7.62
	Non-violent demonstrations	4.45	8.56	3.81
$p < .005$	Understanding through communication	4.45	7.66	6.67
	More Negroes in political office	0.00	.45	3.81
	Other	15.84	10.81	.95
	Don't know	1.98	1.80	21.90
	No response	18.81	17.57	12.38